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Book IV

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

Social Organization

The Ahaggar Confederation

Chapter 1

Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in [184 177] general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

The Ihăggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 565 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

000
586 tribe and takes her children with her. But if she is divorced and has
177 adolescent children, they stay with their father. We find here an Islamic influence as well as a mixed matri-patriarchal system.

184 One of the consequences of matriarchy is to cause disputes
614 which set cousins against each other and put the father, torn between his paternal affection and his clan bonds, in an embarrassing situation. It is a different case for masculine filiation, which, as Lowie has written, (1) although it does not create solidarity by itself, favors

1. Manuel d'Anthropologie culturelle /Handbook of Cultural Anthropology/, p. 292.

the formation of larger and more stable political units. It is thus that we could explain in part the somewhat anarchic state in which the Tuareg live.

[174] In their case we are confronted at the present time by a
562 matriarchy evolving toward a patriarchy. Although the woman
[178] ascribes the caste of her children and assures their political rights,
[611] her social position is not predominant in proportion to that of the
[554] man, who is the head of the family. We find this notion in many Australian tribes with an archaic matriarchy, where the woman's position is no better in matrilinear than in patrilinear tribes. (2)

2. Lowie, op. cit., p. 292.

[584] However, a woman has more liberty at her disposition in
[421] matriarchal societies than in patriarchal ones. She is consulted on choosing her husband insofar as marriage is concerned, she has free disposition of her goods, handles them /153/ as she wishes, and even has a greater freedom of mores.

174 It is rather difficult to clarify the origin of the matriarchy among the Tuareg.

184 643 [173] from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin. The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 611 631 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out, it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 651 The aménokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. [644] He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] [644] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/ today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 [534 177 192] The aménokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum," "cylinder of a drum."

565 631 In exchange for the rights of suzerainty which the Imochar exercise over the Imrad, they owe the latter absolute protection, defend their interests each time that they are threatened, and endeavor to obtain reparation if they are pillaged by an opposing tribe.

177 631 565 511 The Imochar spend lavishly as great lords and have kept this mania in spite of the change in regime brought by the French peace. Their way of living like parasites has taken away any idea of foresight, and because of this they are more often in want than well off. In fact, the first consequence of the French occupation was to stop the state of war and the pillaging, which deprived the Imochar of their principal resources. They became poor people, while the Imrad, as herd owners, saw their wealth increase and become stabilized. This social disturbance could have had serious consequences, but the Imrad did not totally abandon the Imochar, despite the opportunity which was offered them to emancipate themselves from their ancestral guardianship. Perhaps we can be glad of this, for one might wonder what the material situation of the Imochar would have been and, consequently, their state of mind with regard to us.

291 565 178 The terms "black Tuareg" and "white Tuareg" have often been used to designate the Imochar and the Imrad. "In the north," Seligman says, "the nobles have black veils and the subjects white ones." (1) This distinction in dress does not exist today, when the

1. Les races de l'Afrique, p. 129.

Tuareg indiscriminately wear black or white veils according to their taste and wealth. /161/ It is possible that the Imrad formerly could not obtain indigo veils, always considered a luxury item, and had to be content with ordinary cotton veils; that would explain the division into black and white Tuareg.

According to Duveyrier, the white Tuareg, "Touareg-el-biodh," were probably the Oulad Ba Hamou, Arabs of the region of In-Salah. They took from the Tuareg the habit of wearing veils, but in white instead of dark indigo.

565 [511] [177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 631 [642] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 565 721 [727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 [582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
648 liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves from now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

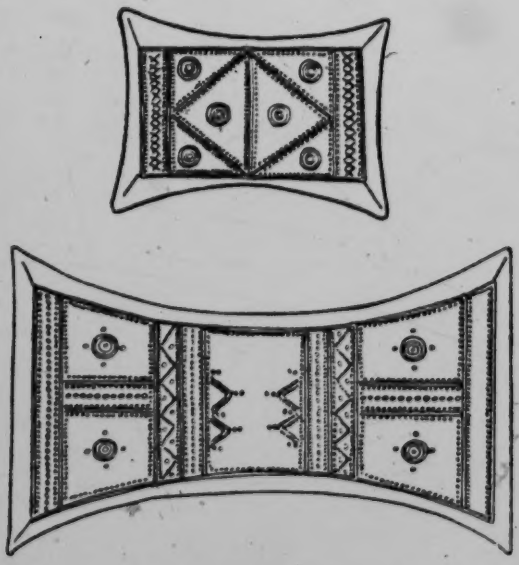

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 331] [697]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dag Rali would have found in Atakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dag Rali still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 651 The Dag Rali pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 233 556 439 The Dag Rali are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 241 423 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abâlessa, Iglen, Tafarit, I-n-Amegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Taitok.

631 781 [794] The Dag Rali are the most pious people in the Ahaggar. The majority of them are affiliated with the order of the Tijanyyah, although some of them adhere to the Sanusiyyah and the order of the Qādiriyyah; these affiliations seem to be purely formal, however, for, with a few exceptions, they do not follow the rites of these religious orders.

797 The activity of Father de Foucauld was particularly effective in this tribe. Because of his installation at Tamanrasset and later at his hermitage at Asekrem, Father de Foucauld was in constant contact with the Dag Rali. At first they were mistrustful of him, but they were not long in coming to him, and they were the first beneficiaries of his good deeds, for the Father went to them, caring for the sick and rendering them many services.

[622] Their chief, Ouksem ag Ourar, was a short, stocky man of average intelligence, but very crafty, especially when it was a question of material interest for him or even that of his people. /193/ He saw the benefit that he could draw from this getting together. Little by little the priest did his best to conquer him and win his affection, and he supported his interests with the authorities of Fort Motylinski. Thus, a few months later, Ouksem was completely won over.

[648] Ouksem gained a certain importance with the authorities, which made him proud and which he knew he owed to Father de Foucauld.

622 631 797 [648] Later on he was a good help in the pacification of the Ahaggar. During the dissidence of 1915, he showed himself very eager to please us, which made Father de Foucauld write to General Laperrine: "Ouksem, chief of the Dag Rali, could not be better; he does not cease to make progress. It is evident that he is bent not only on being faithful, but on showing his fidelity in a dazzling way by his attitude." He did nothing without asking the Father's advice, and he followed this advice by creating a garden at the Ilaman wadi in order to use the waters which descended from the mountain. [777] This garden was established, and to flatter this meritorious effort which was an example, Ouksem received the Medal of Agricultural Merit, a unique feat in the annals of the Tuareg even up to the present

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Arokam, Serouanout, and in the Anahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241 423] The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Iheaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 [181] The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddin. -- The Relaiddin probably came from Air, like the Agouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglan.

[177 233] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

season which generally ends with the month of September. 439
When the caravaneers arrive earlier, they wait in the Tamasna 484
region and protect their salt by hiding it in the crags of the rocks.

At any rate they always stay at least two months in that region so that their camels may regain their strength. Then, they go in small groups toward the Damergou where they know people in some villages with whom they exchange their salt for millet. These exchanges are made on variable bases, depending on whether or not the millet harvest has been abundant, or whether the salt has arrived in greater or lesser quantity. Most generally they are made on the basis of one load of salt for three loads of millet, but sometimes in the proportion of one load of salt for ten loads of millet, which is much to the advantage of the Ihaggaren.

[291]
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Fig. 24. Irratimen sandal of Hausa make, such as the Ihaggaren wear.

[435]

Since they do not have enough camels to carry all this grain back, and since they do not need that much grain in the Ahaggar, they sell or exchange a good part of it for manufactured objects, which are easy to transport and /220/ easy to dispose of -- sandals, saddle bags, camel saddles, leather boxes,

513 No one has a bed except the aménokal, who owns one of the Hausa
[352 type; this model has also been adopted in a certain number /227/
177 of Kel Oui /Owey/ camps. (1) The man and woman each sleep on
643]

1. Contrary to what has been said, the bed is not Tuareg but Hausa. Its use is spread among the sedentary people of Aïr, Damergou, and Sokoto, and it is made by Hausa smiths.

his or her own side of the tent, the boys with their father and the girls with their mother.

864 There are no cradles for babies among the Ahaggar Tuareg, and young children are placed on a skin or on blankets. Sometimes a hemispheric wicker frame is put over them and covered with a cloth to cut off the light or protect them from sandstorms.

The Kel Aïr and the Tenguéréguif have little cradles which are suspended from the top of the tent.

354 Fire. -- In front of each tent there is a hearth, generally made of three stones. It is not intended for cooking purposes, but rather for warmth in the evening after the sun has gone down when all the people gather in the shelter of the asaber, which is unrolled in an arc in front of the tent. The flame warms up hearts and
[272 bodies and synthesizes family and friendship. Sometimes a container of water is placed on the three stones to heat in order to make tea.

343 The cooking fire is set apart, generally some three or four
354 meters from the tent, in the shelter of a little stone wall in order to protect it from the wind.

372 We have not been able to find any myth on the origin of fire
773 among the Tuareg. According to them it was created by God, who gave it to man to cook food. Iblis (Satan) wanted to seize the secret of how it was made, and God punished him by creating

773 372 the tortures of hell. Iblis, however, communicated his secret to the blacksmiths, who since that time have known how to use it for metalworking.

372 [824] The Tuareg used to obtain fire by friction, using a board of torha (callotropis procera) and a branch of hardwood; they caught the spark on a tuft of silk from the fruit of the callotropis and blew on it until they got a flame, which required about a minute. They have kept this practice and still use it occasionally.

[439 177] Today they find matches sold by /228/ Tamanrasset merchants, but they all have tinderboxes with flint and a bent piece of iron.

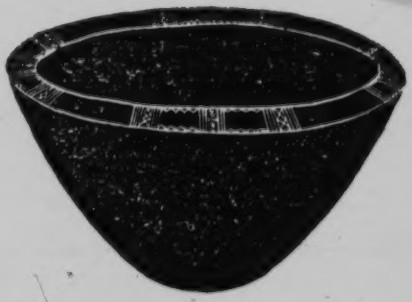

Fig. 27. Ahaggar Tuareg dish, imported from Hausa country.

[415 439] They do not keep up the fire. They carry it from one tent to the other in a fragment of an old gourd or sometimes hold a glowing ember in their hands without burning themselves.

[237 484] When they want to transport it long distances, they use camel-dung embers.

[239] The Tuareg commonly use the excrement of camels and goats as fuel. In the high [137] mountains, wood is quite rare, but in the lower parts of the Koudia old acacia or éthel /atle? Ed./ stumps are to be found. They never [824] use the wood of the callotropis, which is the devil's tree and makes muffled noises when it is burned.

[823] Basalt blocks are never used to make the hearth, since they believe that basalt is possessed by genii and will explode violently when heated.

352 Furniture. -- We have briefly described the objects furnishing the parts of the tent reserved for the husband d wife. To these must be added a certain number of objects ch make up the

243 he generally carries with him in his migrations. Wheat raising
262 goes down to the Sudan as far as Timbuktu, Aïr, and a little north of Nigeria; but everywhere it has been introduced recently, due to the influence of the Arabs, who have not abandoned their traditional food.

Béchena is a food they adopted because of their exodus toward the Sudan; they are at the present time much closer to the Sudan than they are to North Africa from the point of view of material living conditions, that is, unless this plant formerly existed in a self-sown state in the Sahara, as Professor Chevalier has assumed, and was one of the principal food resources of its first inhabitants.

Fig. 29. Caravaneer's mortar and pestle.

177 By its agriculture
241 and its production, the Sahara is completely Negro. Agricultural methods, except for irrigation, /231/ are borrowed from the Sudanese, especially work with the hoe (daba), while North Africa mainly uses the plow which is unknown in the intertropical zone.

252 Béchena is eaten as a cooked flour porridge, as raw flour, or
262 mixed with liquids, water or milk.

Dates also play a large part in the diet of the Tuareg. Every year each family head organizes a little caravan to the Touat or Tidikelt to bring back two or three loads of poor-quality dried dates which are crushed with a pestle and eaten with camel's milk.

264 [415] The Tuareg use spoons. The use of this implement is peculiar to them, for their Arab or Negro neighbors eat with their hands. The custom must be related to the wearing of the veil, which they do not take off to eat and which prevents them from putting their [182 291] hands full of food to their mouths. They carry food to their mouths while slightly holding up the ends of their veils.

[271] For beverages they drink only water, whether it is clean or 272 polluted, and milk.

For half a century they have had the habit of drinking green tea in the Arab manner; they aromatize it with mint or some perfumed plants of the Ahaggar, /238/ chih (Artemisia herba alba) in particular. Coffee, which was formerly much used by them, is now [757 778] taken mainly as a medication to calm violent coughs or stomach aches.

276 If we now seek consumer goods taken as stimulants or narcotics, we see that the Tuareg know only tobacco, which they chew or take as snuff.

Smoking is not one of their customs. The young men who are [177] in contact with the French like to beg a cigarette, but it is simply in the spirit of imitation.

114 276 Duveyrier, however, has said that the Tuareg smoke. Was this, perhaps, the fashion among the Tuareg who visited Ghat? Before him Barth wrote that all riverain people living along the Niger loved to smoke. "It is very seldom that they leave their pretty little clay pipes, and all the Rouma, like the Tuareg, cover their mouths when smoking, so that all one sees is a pipe bowl coming out of the shawl which covers the face." (1)

1. Voyage en Afrique,
vol. IV, p. 137.

[114] 276 For his part, Commander Cauvet, in describing Tuareg clothing, said that men kept their pipes and tobacco in the pocket of their big blouses.

Thus all these testimonies coming from such trustworthy travelers tried to make us believe that the Tuareg are pipe smokers. For our part, we have never seen any.

On the other hand, they are very fond of chewing tobacco, and their wives also practice this custom, so that they finally have a deformation of the lower lip caused by the craze they have of stowing the quid between the gum and lower lip.

[439] Tobacco is not cultivated in the Ahaggar; it is imported from the Touat by the Arabs. The Sudanese Tuareg get it from the sedentary peoples of the Niger or through caravaneers from Upper Dahomey. They generally add a few natron crystals to it to take away the acridity, or else the ashes of graminaceae which play the same role as natron.

177 276 Many Nigerian Tuareg have formed the habit of chewing kola nuts; this is a powerful stimulant which the Negroes use a good deal. A few Ihaggaren /239/ indulge in this practice when they go to the Sudan, but they have not introduced it into their everyday mores and never use kola when they are in their own country.

262 The Tuareg are subject to a rather large number of dietary interdicts. First, like Moslems, they may eat only meats from ritually butchered animals. They must abstain from eating the [273] meat of pigs and wart hogs and from drinking fermented drinks which are harīm. The meat of fowls--except the ostrich -- and fish is also forbidden and considered impure. But these are customs which go back before Islam. They also may not eat the [825] meat of the uran, because this lizard is considered to be the descendant of their maternal uncle.

224 which is rolled up on a stick, one end of which is cut in a point. A
[23] second apparatus consists in a little wooden disk covered with hide, the whole mounted on another stick a little longer than that of the first apparatus which is embedded between the layer and the arc, while the pointed stick is fastened in the hole of a bead or on a little leather ring fixed on the leather disk. A lasso is placed on this disk, and its end is fastened on the main part of the pointed stick.

This trap is generally placed on the paths frequented by gazelles and lightly covered with sand. If the animal puts its foot on the leather disk, the pressure that it causes unhooks the pointed stick; the shock of this can break a paw and in any case it tightens the lasso around the paw.

177 More recently the Tuareg have used the metallic spring trap
324 of the English type, which their blacksmiths now know how to make. They have replaced the balanced bait pan by a taut skin on which they have attached a large glass bead. The bait is fixed to the bead and is more sensitive to the touch. This trap may accidentally catch gazelles, but the most common catches are hares and jackals.

224 The Tuareg hunt on the lands over which they range and have
423 no right to hunt on the lands of the neighboring tribes. If such a case occurred, they would be obliged to give the game to the owners of the area. The latter may at least grant back part of the meat, but they keep the skin, especially when it is a wild sheep.

/243/ Some regions are the hunting fief of a single man. So, in the Koudia, no one has the right to hunt on Tahat Peak without the permission of its owner, who is a descendant of the old Isebeten tribe. At any rate, the skin, head, and half of the animal must be handed over to him.

224 The Ahaggar Tuareg have had rapid-firing guns at their
411 disposal for a few years. They are not good shots, but they know admirably well how to approach game, so that they have made massive massacres which will take a long time to repair.

224 The administration fortunately has decided to confiscate these [411 648] weapons.

It is very difficult to get an exact idea of the number of animals killed annually by hunters. But we believe we are close to accurate in giving the figure 300. Thus we say that hunting holds a very small place in Ahaggar Tuareg economy.

226 Fishing. -- Fishing is not done by the Tuareg for the reasons [184] we have given. Only the Issekkemâren and the Iklan engage in it. They fish when the pond water is very low. In the Tassili they dig little ditches on the lower side at water level, leading to little reservoirs where the fish find refuge and are then surely caught.

[251] When fishing has been fruitful, the Issekkemâren dry the fish to keep them for periods of scarcity.

/244/ Chapter 5

Agriculture

241 The Ahaggar ~~Tuareg~~ have never attached more than a very secondary importance to agriculture. Their nomadic turn of mind is at the opposite pole from land ownership and still more from exploiting it, which implies sedentary life. There are, however, a number of centers of cultivation in their country; they are of undeniable interest and could be extended more widely if improper legislation did not hinder their development.

•177 The creation of most of these centers of cultivation does not go back more than a century. It was accomplished under the in-241 fluence of Arab groups settled in the Ahaggar. Only the Silet and Tibeghîn oases are much older and probably date from the time of the Imanan sultans who had brought into the Ahaggar some

177 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of
241 irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first culti-
241 vated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it
[429 out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in
651] the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden. The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

241 Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro
427 tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance,
[312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311 Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when
312 they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir
[241] /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

302 For festive occasions, some women bear paintings on their faces, white or ocher dots above the bridge of the nose, under the [517] cheeks, and on their chins. These paintings have only an aesthetic nature, or so it seems.

304 All Tuareg, men and women, have two or three small linear 751 scars on their foreheads and temples, and the indigo from their clothing which is often inlaid there gives them the appearance of tattoos. They are incisions made for medico-magic reasons when [855] the children are very young to protect them from headaches and convulsions.

[856] It also seems that this custom contributes to make them strong and making them walk very early. (1)

1. De Foucauld, Textes en prose /Prose Texts/, p. 64.

757 Medicine and surgery. -- If we now turn our attention to medicine and surgery among the Tuareg, we shall observe that their knowledge is not very extensive and has nothing singular about it.

753 In their minds the Tuareg classify sickness in two categories: those which are the result of an external action, visible and determinable, and those whose origin cannot be explained by any causal link. The former are treated with appropriate medical treatments, the latter by magic procedures.

757 The medical procedures, which belong rather to surgery, are clearly empirical. A few of them serve for a quantity of ills. They chiefly include bleeding and applying heat. In bleeding, the operator relieves congestion in the diseased part; in applying heat, he limits the pain, at the same time relieving congestion.

278 The Ihaggaren have a whole stock of drugs which they [277] borrowed from the Sudanese. These are roots, plants, and seeds which grow in the Sudan and in which the Tuareg have a great deal

291 489 /265/ Clothes, except for the gandurah made of cotton bands, are made of material imported from Europe. This material, called chêga, is heavily dyed with indigo, giving it a very dark gloss; it [556] is the favorite material of Tuareg men and women, but it is replaced by ordinary cloth among less well-off people.

Veils are manufactured in English Nigeria, in the village of Koura near the large city of Kano. They are made by assembling [435] a multitude of little cloth bands. They are very expensive and can cost from three to five goats, depending on the quality. In [177] Hausa language they bear the name toukourdi, which has been [436] adopted by the Tuareg. For a long time they have served as exchange currency for commercial transactions.

291 174 It has been asked many times why the Tuareg were led to veil their faces. Hygiene, which has often been mentioned, and the need to protect their respiratory tracts against sandstorms, are not sufficient reasons to explain this practice. There is something else, a /266/ very ancient enigmatic custom whose origin is lost in the night of time and which is kept up without their really knowing why. It is so deep rooted among the Tuareg, however, that they cannot conceive of a self-respecting man who can forego wearing the veil.

The headless men and acephalous people of ancient authors certainly owed their cognomen only to this very peculiar custom of hiding their faces, a custom which must have already existed in this remote epoch. One can only construct hypotheses on the origin of this veil.

We know through Ibn Khaldoun that the wearing of the veil was in general use among the peoples who inhabited the Atlantic coast and adjacent countries in the fourth century. This establishes that the custom is very ancient.

In the rock paintings from prehistoric or protohistoric times which have been discovered in the central Sahara in the last few years, we have noted the very peculiar method of representing the

156 291 The veil can express a fleeting sentiment. Thus, it is pulled down over the eyes before respectable people or women, while it is raised over the forehead, on the contrary, as a sign of familiarity. To laugh freely at a joke, a Tuareg will raise the lower part of his veil very high over his nose. When he is irritated, he will tighten it like a chin strap to mask his anger.

292 In the festive garb worn on the occasion of religious or family festivals, the veil is complicated with many turbans made of white muslin and bands of colored silk. The upper part receives a sort of frame which lets them arrange many cotton bands, interlacing them to form a kind of crest. The top part of the cranium is never covered, and the veil lets tufts of braided hair stick out. At marriages, it was formerly the custom to wear the takoumbout, a sort of big chéchia made of wool fortified with enormous flosses of cotton and covered with silvery appliqués. This headdress is on its way to ... disappearing completely, and there are no more than one or two in the whole Ahaggar today.

291 The Ihăggaren use two kinds of sandals: the broad cowhide sandal called irratimen with simple red leather straps crossing over the instep, and a sandal called imerkéden made of a number of scraps of goatskin sewed together, with a strap going around the heel and tying with a knot on the instep.

[184 556] The irratimen are particularly worn by well-to-do men and especially appreciated in sandy regions where their large carrying area keeps one from sinking too deep. /268/ This sandal, which [177 439] is manufactured by Hausa artisans from Agadez or Damergou, was borrowed from these peoples by the Tuareg. Its origin must not be attributed to the Tuareg.

[184 556] The true sandals of the Ahaggar people are the imerkéden, which they still wear and which the mountain people always prefer, since they are especially well adapted to walking on rocks. They are worn by the common people and by the Iklan who have no money to buy Sudanese sandals, while they all know how to make very comfortable imerkéden with a few old pieces of goatskin.

[177] Cloth garments have certainly been used only recently among 291 the Tuareg; they used to wear leather clothing. A few Ahaggar 174 Iklan still wear these knee-length blouses with fringes over the chest, sides, and sleeves. Evidences of these leather clothes are still to be found among captives from the Sudan and the Timbuktu region. They wear skirts tight at the waist, dyed half red and half yellow, and decorated with multicolored fringes. In Aïr little girls still wear /270/ a kind of small leather apron, and little boys, little leather trousers.

These seem to be the ancestral clothes of the Tuareg. The description of the dress of Libyan women which Herodotus has given us corresponds in all details to the leather dress used in the Timbuktu region, and some rock drawings of the Tassili are the very image of the small leather tunic of the Koudia Iklan.

832 Ornaments. Jewelry. -- The coquetry of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a most remarkable thing and quite unexpected among people who live under such primitive conditions and whose natural instincts must lead them first of all toward the spirit of self-preservation and material preoccupations. However, it reflects their rather superficial [181] life, their light mores, and that pleasurable existence which the nobles intend to lead.

And so the Tuareg sacrifice everything to their coquetry, depriving themselves of food and parting with some of their goods in order to procure lustrous clothes, multicolored ribbons to set off the brilliancy of their coiffure, and amulet boxes which are carried more for aesthetic than religious reasons.

301 Women conform to the same faults and know no rest until they 832 have a certain number of jewels with which to adorn themselves.

For men, adornment consists of a few jewels, especially cases for amulets. As regards jewelry, they wear only one or two silver rings on their fingers, a heavy and coarse kind of ring, either plain or slightly twisted. In addition they wear a stone ring above the elbow.

/273/ On their fingers Ahaggar women wear big, round-shaped rings, made of small cases in which there is a little pebble which tinkles like a bell. Rich women wear two or three on each hand.

The wrists are adorned with hollow silver bracelets with triangular cross sections, bearing little linear drawings. There are also rather

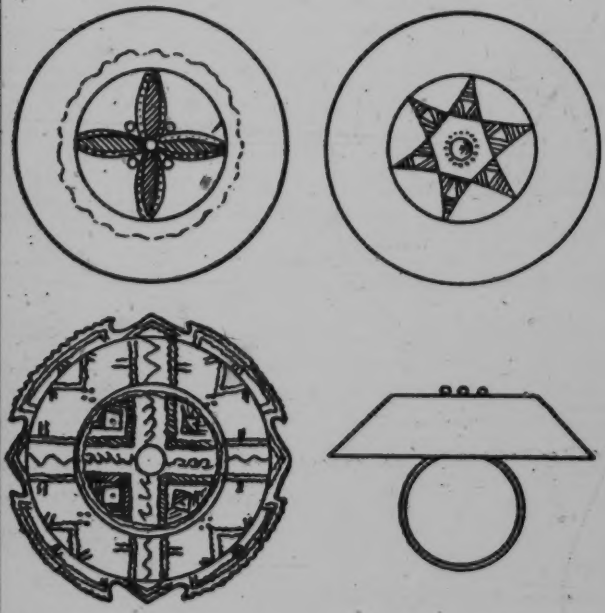

Fig. 43. Ahaggar women's rings.

broad black horn bracelets. Bracelets of Sudanese origin made of multicolored beads mounted on leather are also adopted by a few women.

The neck is ornamented with a necklace bearing an oval (?) shell or a substance coming from a native Nigerian animal, which could very well be the manatee. This jewel (ameréouan) is extremely valuable and very rare in the Ahaggar. It is handed down from mother to daughter.

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked [415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tafedest. We also found 322] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Aïr and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

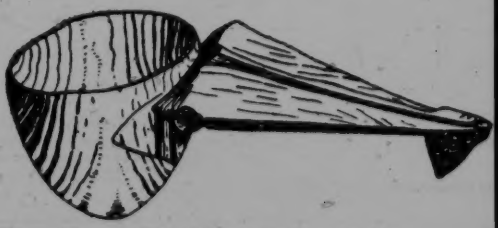

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[564 silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron
[135 ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know [439 the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

177 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

177 326

coins were for a long time the money standard in all of Central Africa. (1) Copper is chiefly furnished by cartridge cases, and iron by abandoned

177 436

1. The Maria Theresa dollar was introduced into Africa at the beginning of the nineteenth century by navigators

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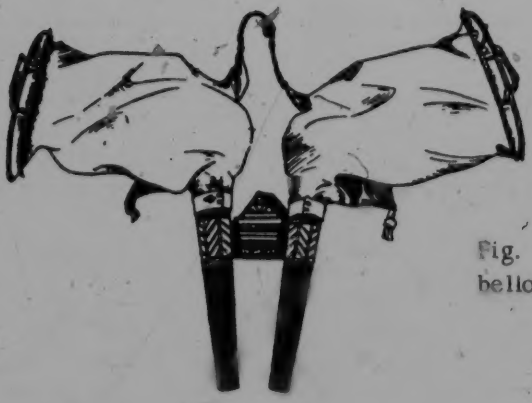

Fig. 49. Double forge bellows.

and traders who visited the Gulf of Guinea. With the iron bar, it became the basis of commercial exchange, and it was circulated in the interior of West Africa as well as in Abyssinia.

scraps of old carriages, auto springs, sheet metal, tin cans, etc.

177 328

Aluminum, which is beginning to penetrate into the Niger region, is not yet utilized in the Ahaggar. So far the pipes and guys left to the four corners of the desert by wrecked airplanes have served only to make tent poles.

323

Pottery is made by Negresses, the wives /281/ of Harratin, or freed former captives who live in the agricultural centers.

This outline of the techniques and industries of the Kel Ahaggar Tuareg brings out their poverty.

Can we speak of art among the Ihaggaren? That seems difficult, for aside from a few rare objects, all those that they use are more or less in use in the Ahaggar are imported from Aïr or Adrar des Ifôras, and that is explained all the better by the fact that the artisans are more or less originally from these regions.

438 531 517

[415]

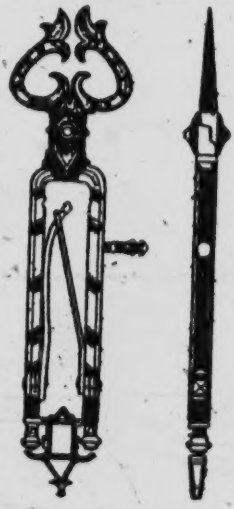

Fig. 52. Sugar tongs.

It is difficult to determine the origins of Tuareg art in general. It is in reality a composite art taken from all their neighbors, which, is not, for the most part, the achievement of the Tuareg themselves but of their artisans. It is among the latter that the distant origins /of Tuareg art/ must be sought.

177 517

The tastes of the Tuareg appear to be unchangeable. They have been fixed for centuries; therefore, in ancient documents some hundred years old one finds the same shape, the same dimensions, the same coloring as today. In this regard we shall say that the Enad is not an artist. He is a worker who may have taste, but who is, on the whole, incapable of creating. He faithfully reproduces the model which has been handed down to him. He

517 [178 172]

553 852 Naming the child. -- It is then that the child is named. A choice is made among several names by drawing straws. In the tribes of the Aïr, when there is a dispute over the choice of a name, each of the parties present brings a small goat and secretly gives it the preferred name. The mother, who does not know who has donated each goat, chooses the one she likes and has it slaughtered. [574] The child must then bear the name which had been given the goat for the occasion. Then a meal is served to the people of the camp [431] and to the guests, and a present is given to the marabout if one came.

[302] The same day the newborn's hair is cut for the first time, and the marabout places an amulet around his neck.

551 /284/ The names given to children are quite varied and sometimes very whimsical. They observe customs like those of the American Indians, and so the parents take into account certain fortuitous circumstances which surrounded the birth. We have seen a young girl who bore the name of Tédigrès, meaning "hail," because there was hail at the moment she came into the world. Others bear the names of animals such as Ăanaba, the panther; Ăbagui, the jackal; Acotey, the jerboa; Tinirt, the antelope; Ăhenkatt, the gazelle, etc.

[77] Because of Arab influence, the Tuareg have adopted many names taken from the Bible and Arabized, e.g., Moussa from Moses, Firhoun from Pharaoh, Younès from Jonas, etc.

They also bear very ancient names which come to them through tradition and whose meaning and origin they are ignorant of: Akhamouk (masc.), Amastane (masc.), Yklou (masc.), Chékou (fem.), Tinguelous (fem.). (1)

1. This name may come from the Latin angelus.

From then on the child has his father's name joined to his and keeps it all his life. There are no family names and marriage does

797 Abd Allah Ed-Djafar, a lieutenant of Sidi Okba ben Nafi (died in
173 683), whose two companions died near a little Hirhafok village, at Tiokine exactly, where their tombs are still the objects of veneration to a certain degree.

In legends the natives even claim that Sidi Okba was killed by a Tuareg (Koceilata), thus confusing their history with that of the people from Aurès and the Kounta Dag Ech Cheikh who call themselves the descendants of Sidi Okba. This explains the ancestral hate which exists between them and the Tuareg. It has, however, been proved that Sidi Okba ben Nafi never penetrated into the Sahara, although perhaps it is a question of a confusion of names or a homonym.

[172] In addition to the Tiokine tombs, there is the rock inscription painted on the ceiling of a grotto at T-i-m-missao which testifies to the passage of the first Islamizers. This was pointed out for the first time by Duveyrier and followed up by Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, pp. 205-208. Since then, this inscription has been the subject of a detailed study by Th. Monod, Journal des Africanistes, vol. VIII, part 1, 1938, pp. 83-95.

[177] We must not believe that the Tuareg adopted Islamism right away, for although they accepted the Koran as a guide to their religious faith, they gave up nothing of their mores or their former pagan customs. The Arabs even claim that they apostasized as much as fourteen times, and they still consider them very lukewarm Moslems today. Furthermore, they probably belonged
[69] for a long time to the heretical sect of Wahabis, with whom they were allied; this was just another way of rebelling against the conquerors.

797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
777 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 565] to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded
[789] in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

[776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[777 782] true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news of those who are absent.

Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg. They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth, beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines, that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

484 This was observed by Duveyrier, Captain de Bonnemain, and
674 Bou Derba on the Ouargla-Ghat itinerary. We have witnessed similar actions ourselves, but the goods stored in this way belonged
[609] to some Ihaggaren, and no one would have dared lay a hand on them. The thing is less safe in the case of a stranger's property.

When a camel dies en route, the load that it was carrying is left on the spot and put under public protection. The caravaneer is always certain to find his property, even six or eight months later. In this regard, it is well to say that the Tuareg, raiders though they must be, are not thieves. When a theft has been committed in their /316/ country, the guilty party is generally a Negro, but rarely a Tuareg of the white race.

439 What were the products transported? Manufactured goods, for the most part, generally made in Europe. There were fabrics and silks which the Tuareg and the Sudanese eagerly sought, and there
[177 272] were knickknacks, unmounted sword blades, sugar, and coffee (tea only recently made its appearance in the Sahara).

All these goods were resold or exchanged for ten times their value. On the return trip the caravaneers brought back ostrich plumes, gold dust, ivory, and little Negro girls and boys bought as slaves and resold for very high prices in the cities of Algeria. Leather was also the object of an intensive traffic, as well as medications of plant or animal (ostrich fat) origin which were part of the Sudanese pharmacopoeia and much appreciated by the Arabs.

177 Today, except for gold and ivory, which have become rare
439 and whose traffic is in the hands of Europeans, and except for the sale of slaves, which has been forbidden since the French
[486] occupation, trade has remained the same. But the routes have become free and the Tuareg can no longer count on their former profits. There was one resort left, that of making themselves caravaneers in their turn and using their many camels in that way. This is what they have done.

Sheep trading, which has grown greatly in these last few years, is largely carried on by barter. It is especially done by Arab caravaneers from the Touat who go to the Sudan with dates, tobacco, fabrics, and blankets, which they exchange not in the markets but in the camps. Tuareg from the Adrar des Iforas and Kounta Arabs also do the opposite and take their sheep to the Tidikelt and Touat.

In 1939 the sale price of sheep on the market at In-Salah was from 75 to 100 francs. The purchase price in the Sudan varied from 35 to 45 francs, but as we said, barter was most often the basis for all transactions.

And so for a camel that they received the Adrar Tuareg gave 120 sheep. One sheep alone was exchanged for 12 or 15 cubits of cloth or /317/ 10 guecaa of dates. A dokkali, a large blanket from the Touat which the Tuareg hold in high esteem, was worth 10 sheep in the Sudan and 7 in the Adrar.

The camel served as a basis of exchange. The Tuareg have never used money, although they did accept the Maria Theresa dollar which circulated in the Sudan and the Turkish livre which was widespread in Tripolitania. Sudanese tribes negotiated with toukourdi, the band of material serving as a veil, and with kori (Cypraea moneta), a little seashell native to the Indian Ocean.

Since the French occupation we have seen a certain number of native merchants settle at Tamanrasset, the administrative capital of the Ahaggar. They are for the most part Mozabites and a few Arabs from Metlili who have constructed shops and have merchandise sent them by their correspondents in the Algerian Tell.

This recent state of affairs tends to grow more and more extensive, and the postal agency at Tamanrasset records several million transactions every year.

492 The tarik is the saddle commonly used by the Ahaggar Tuareg, the one which is peculiar to them and which they must have known from time immemorial. The tamzak, which is a decorated variant [177] of the tarik, owes the origin of its decoration to Hausa influence. In fact, the peculiar technique of applying perforated metal bands [171] enhanced by colored leather fabrics is found in horses' saddles of the

[531]

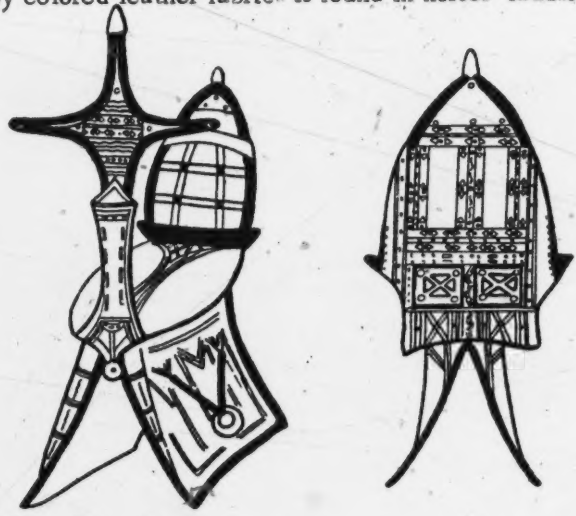

Fig. 54.. 1 The camel saddle called tamzack. 2 Detail of the back of the saddle.

Hausa from the Damergou, Sokoto, etc., and there is no doubt that that art, which is unrelated to that of the Tuareg, is much more developed among those peoples.

438 The two saddles are usually made in Aïr, indeed even at Agadez, but the old Tuareg blacksmiths manufacture only the 326 tarik. The tamzak is the work of artisans, who are usually settled 492 at Agadez and more or less crossed with artisans of Hausa origin. 492 Ahaggar blacksmiths make only the tahiast, which is the saddle 171

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 aménokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

Chapter 2

War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their amenokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

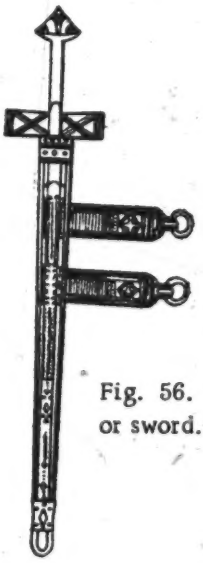

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

721 simple, and this activity can be divided into two main types according to the chief object in view. Raiding for booty was practised irregularly but fairly often, especially in times of hardship or in connection with intertribal feuds. Sneak attacks by small bands who lifted livestock and then promptly fled with it were typical. Slave raiding was practised on a fairly regular basis. In the nomad camps of the
727 Ahaggar the number of Negro domestic servants is usually about equal to the number of Tuareg present, and this labor force used to be replenished when necessary by raids on Negro villages in the desert fringe of the Sudan and occasionally even on Tuareg camps in the Aïr, Tamesna and Adrar n Ifoghas regions. The present writer knows a mulatto freedwoman who was taken in this way from the Aïr some 40 years ago, and has long been happily settled at Tamanrasset; and she is by no means an exception. Thus raiding, the fourth corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar, was primarily a mechanism designed to keep the supply of livestock, both animal and human, at a satisfactory level in an area where the environment caused a steady normal decrease in the local supply.

Economic Summary. We have seen that pas-
177 toralism was the central column and crop
182 shares, trading, protection and raiding the four corner posts of the economic structure of the Ahaggar Tuareg. With the coming of European domination the last two pillars were kicked away, the third buckled and bent to a mere fraction of its former height, and the roof fell in along three sides and part of the fourth. The Ahaggar Tuareg presumably never lived a life of ease—no pastoralist can in such a rigorous environment—but their greatest perils used to be those of warfare. These dangers have been removed completely by the new European rulers of the area, and yet the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a whole are undoubtedly in worse economic shape today than they have ever been before. Their old
182 culture, whatever some may think of it on the basis of modern European standards, was remarkably well adapted to conditions in their chosen homeland. The destruction of two of its five main supports and the progressive weakening of a third have thrown their economic structure so seriously out of balance that the whole edifice is obviously doomed,

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca.1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

29 some Moroccan Arab tribes wear them even now. This type of headdress seems to have been exactly, or almost exactly like the tall, fezlike tasseled cap that we see worn, though without a turban, by Chusor Phtah in portraits that occur on coins struck probably during the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. at the provincial Berber capital of Lixus, the modern Tchemmich, an old Phoenician settlement on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, roughly half way between Rabat and Tangier (Mazard, 1955, pp. 60, 64, 125 and 153; figs. 630–35, 640–42). Chusor Phtah has been identified as the diety who was supposed by the Phoenicians to have brought order out of primeval chaos. And so we are left wondering if the high-crowned floppy fez of the Tuareg was originally a northwestern African Berber invention or a Phoenician import from the Near East. In any case it suggests the possibility of [177] a very early relationship of some sort between the Tuareg and the northwestern coastal fringe of Barbary.

Tuareg men today wear very loose, baggy trousers made of dark indigo blue or black cotton cloth,[10] which are held in place in the same way as our pajama trousers are but with a braided leather cord by way of drawstring. The seat is baggy and hangs down below the knees, the ends of the legs are sewed up so as to fit closely around the ankles, and there are no pockets and no fly. A loose, white cotton shirt, rather like a nightgown with very wide sleeves of medium length, used to be the standard undergarment, but the gandoura [177] of the Arabs finally replaced it and is now being replaced in turn by the European type of shirt. The Tuareg gandoura is made of a huge rectangle of cloth, roughly 7 to 8 feet wide by 8 to 9 feet long. This is folded over on itself and the free corners are sewn together so as to leave the bottom and most of both sides open, a V-shaped opening for the head and neck is cut out of the fold at the top, and a large patch is sewed on inside so as to make a roomy pocket placed just below the left breast. The gandoura worn next to the skin, or directly over the undershirt, is usually made of white cotton, and a second

[10] Frequent reference to the plates will make the following descriptions easier to understand.

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 It is not true that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors 512 of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are 462 out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh[11] to the children. Every family that is [567] not miserably poor has at least two or three slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 Although it is true that Tuareg women do not wear veils, it is also true that women 171 of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial quality with which its use has become imbued.

291 As for the date at which the teguelmoust 177

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

291 177 was introduced among or developed by the Tuareg, we have as yet only negative evidence to go on and precious little of that. All we can say with any assurance is that it cannot very well be older than the introduction of cotton cloth, which is self-evident, and that it could easily have been derived from some quite ordinary type of turban, like that of the Arab Chaamba for example. Cotton cloth must have been introduced into the Sahara on a commercial scale very soon after the introduction of camel domestication had led to the establishment of a regular caravan trade with Egypt, if not before. There are indications 291 175 that it may have been known in the Ahaggar as early as the 5th century A.D. (Reygasse, 1950, p. 98) and perhaps even in late Neolithic times, and yet there is no evidence in the literature that the Tuareg were wearing veils before the 10th or early 11th century. As Rodd (1926, p. 328) has said: "It seems very strange that none of the classical and post-classical authors should have recorded a feature which so distinguishes this people from other races. There is no reference to the Veil until we come to the first Arab authors. . . ." Desert raiders remarkably like the Tuareg are known to have been in increasingly frequent and violent contact with Romans, Vandals and finally with Byzantines from probably as early as the dawn of the Christian era until the first wave of Arab invaders arrived some 600 years later, and after that they were in contact with the Arabs for another 350 years or so before we begin to hear talk of veiled men in the Sahara.

El Bekri (Lhote, 1955, p. 128) describing the city of Tademekka (in the Adrar n Ifoghas country) as it was early in the 11th century, wrote of the inhabitants that ". . . they veil their faces as do all Berbers of the desert . . . ," while Ibn Battuta (Gibb, 1929, p. 338), writing 300 years later, said: " . . . we came to the country of the Haggar, who are a tribe of Berbers; they wear face veils and are a rascally lot." But these statements too are very strange, for the matter-of-fact language in which they are couched seems to suggest that even El Bekri may have taken it for granted that his readers were already familiar with veiled men of Saharan Berber tribes, presumably the northern

Tuareg.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

THE TUAREG OF THE AHAGGAR

by

GEOFFREY HOLIDAY

131 The Ahaggar region of the Sahara desert, with its administrative headquarters at Tamanrasset (Fort Laperrine) provides an almost exact geographical centre for the territory inhabited by the Tuareg; the nomadic tribes of the "blue veil". At the northernmost point is In Salah and to the south, Agadez. Eastward there is Djanet in the Tassili des Ajjer and the western boundary is formed, perhaps, by the line of the Tanezrouft. [361] Within this area the Tuareg wander from oasis to oasis or, in the case of a few, dwell peaceably in the shadow of the French towns and outposts that mainly owe their location to the existence of water tempered by administrative and strategic factors.

● 174 186 The Tuareg would appear, at first glance, to be one of the few remaining peoples of the world possessing a culture of their own that is entirely free of influences, direct or indirect. Some among the tribes still believe that the desert is the world, inhabited admittedly by many different kinds of people, but the world nevertheless. This is the extreme view, obviously not shared by those who have travelled on the great caravan routes as far south as Kano or to Timbucktu and the Niger. It may not be the view of [648] the younger generations who, to an increasing extent, are benefiting by the primary education facilities inaugurated by the French administrators; particularly in Algeria where the Ahaggar region lies at the foot of the Territoires du Sud: a knowledge of the French language does not necessarily bring about a lessening of superstitions or a widening of perspectives. One is always faced with the parallel of the farmer (who should have known better) and the ostrich: 'There ain't no such animal!' Nevertheless, from this aspect the influences are so few as to be negligible and are more likely to come from the varied genre of the official and semi-official indigenous population gathered together under the Tricolour at the towns and outposts of the region than from direct contact with the European. The Tuareg are almost the exception that proves the rule of man's gregariousness, though, naturally enough, they are gregarious in that they possess very strong tribal instincts.

291 751 As a tribe the Tuareg have very marked characteristics that immediately set them aside from any other social group in what may be termed loosely north Africa. To begin with, the men are seldom seen unveiled: the women, who can be very beautiful, never cover their faces although, often they will wear a head covering, presumably as protection against sun and sand. The men, however, do not wear the veil solely as protection against the elements. Discounting those few who have become soldiers under the French flag, a Tuareg man—or, more properly, a Targui—assumes the veil on approaching manhood and wears it continuously, even for eating and drinking. He unveils to no one, not even in the sanctuary of his tent alone, let alone in the presence of his wife. This veil wound low round his forehead and across the bridge of his nose covers the mouth, ears and nostrils. Since the other openings of his body are concealed by his robes he has complete protection against evil spirits entering and taking control—and this is the key to why the veil is worn. To protect his eyesight against the Evil One amulets are worn from a chain round the neck and doubtless also such amulets provide a measure of safety in battle.

174 The origins of the Tuareg tribe are particularly interesting in that they have as yet to be definitely established. Their antecedents go back anything between 600 and a 1,000 years and it is supposed that they are an offshoot of the Berber Arabs, driven into the desert during one of the many invasions of the Tel, the fertile coastal belts of Algeria and Morocco, that continued up to the 13th century when the Moors became really established on the Barbary coast. Likewise, the Berbers with their light skins and blue

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ ⵏ ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵏⴰⵖ ⵓ ⵜⵉⵎⵓⵔⴰⵖ

ⵜⴰⵏ ⵓⵔ ⵏⵍⵍⴰ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ, ⵜⵜⵓ ⵙⵉⵏ

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

533 For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem
[177] to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad". The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen
[434] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

Wind instruments are unknown among the Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions govern the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition.
462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con-
533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig*. Consequently, much of the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men-
[170] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting race, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem
[177] to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⵔⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoaït;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵙⴻⵎⴷⵀⵉ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ.

Chapter XVII

Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

The "tidjelmoust" ⊕⊐ıı'ı'+ , or veil. The veil 291
is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place.

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the [302]
head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf."

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ΛΛ⊡ , and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" Σıı+ , can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which 177
they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists 291
of a kind of diadem of this shape:

It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat" +ıı∇V+ , [184]
is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance.

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, 291
"tirezzemine" ⊐#0+ .

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive. 212

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all [177 191]

[291 643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one," he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer. 802

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines. [516 521]

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met. 487 823

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed from the Arabic and changed. 177 192 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek," corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" ﺯﻛﺎﺓ, or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This means "the black month." Here is why this month is so called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the 773 776 805

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread throughout the world, precisely in that month which was later called the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," (corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted, صنوّر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," (corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle." This is also the name of a star.

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim," (corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine (1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme /Essay on the History of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root "zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word الصّوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations," because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "A'id Ser'ir" takes place.

11. "Djer mouhaden," that is, "between prayers," because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah. 805

12. "Tafaski," that is, "the sacrifice." It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir," also called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحى, or "feast of sacrifices," takes place. [177]

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1). 177 213

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

Part Two

The Tuareg in their Public Life

Chapter I

Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it 114 565

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tarahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wells *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 138ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

563 601 akin to the system in use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (fig. 8 9).

563 342 The material culture of the Air negroes is marked by both northern and southern traits. The most common type of dwelling is a beehive hut *(tatramt)*, which I have also seen south of Air in the savannah, while similar huts are unknown to the north in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. The huts are often placed within round enclosures which are possibly of Sudanese origin (cf. fig. 15). There are however other types of dwellings in the Air villages. Very common is a square straw hut *(terhira)* with a slightly elevated saddle-roof. It is built by the men while the beehive hut is made by women, and both types are frequently used by one and the same household. This square hut differs constructionally from the straw huts used among settled agriculturists in the north. Also rather common is a barrel-vaulted hut *(ehen)* covered with mats (fig. 14). It has the same name and is of much the same construction as the movable huts or tents used by most pastoral Air Tuareg (fig. 5 & 13). It is built by women and seems to have been introduced by pastoral [482] women married to settled agriculturists. Finally there is in some villages a rectangular house *(tarakant)* with a flat roof. It has very solid walls generally built from stones inserted in and covered with mud. It has various sub-types more elaborately described by Rodd, who considers these houses to be of northern origin (Rodd 177 1926a, p. 240ff.). They have most probably been introduced from Tassili-n-Ajjer 312 or the Fezzan from which regions came also the irrigation system now forming the basis of agriculture all over Air, namely the drawing of water from shallow wells *(anou)* by means of zebus. This system is extremely common in the Fezzan and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where, as mentioned, it was introduced also to Ahaggar. It is not known when it came to Air, but in many villages it has been adopted only very recently. Not so many years ago water for irrigation in most villages was apparently raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight *(ayoudit)* (cf. Capot-Rey 1933, p. 322), but this method has now disappeared. It can be considered the oldest irrigation machine and it is no doubt [174] of very great age in Northern Africa including the Sudan. The method however 241 involves much strenuous work and in view of this it may seem quite natural that agriculture in Air was in the past also practised as shifting cultivation without any irrigation. Rodd states that in certain areas of Air rain-grown crops could be raised most years and that in the past a fair amount of cereals seems to have been produced in this way (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I think this is correct. Certain crops as for instance millet has a very short period of growth; in Ahaggar (Abelessa) millet is sown in June-July and harvested in September, and it is said that it is not watered very much and never to the same extent as wheat grown in winter. It would no doubt be possible to grow millet in many parts of Air without artificial irrigation during the rains, and in fact millet was grown by shifting cultivation not far from Agadez as recently as up to the French occupation. But nowadays agri-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

634
614

Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, 778 534 and that it must never be touched by women.

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally, 634 [614] the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals.

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who [177] after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, 173 but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their 634

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The present drum-chief and his brother know the names of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent chiefs are not known further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:–

Sabenas, the ancestress of the noble clan and the first ruler of the Kel Ferouan drum-group. Her drum was made of iron, they say.

Amenokal, the elder son of Sabenas.

Mohammed Aman, the younger brother of Amenokal.

Elkarebi, the brother of Mohammed Aman.

The drum-chiefs known to have reigned more recently are the following:–

Boboker, who was installed in the latter half of the 19th century. He belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan and was of pure noble origin.

Rali, who was the younger brother of Boboker. He was drum-chief when the French arrived. He is said to have reigned for 55 years and to have died about 30 years ago. He was considered a very skillful and wise chief, and is remembered by all Tuareg of the Kel Ferouan drum-group with profound respect. Rali's tomb is south of the massif somewhat north of Aderbissinat where the present drum-chief most frequently camps. On Rali's death-day the drum-chief, his family, and his slaves visit the tomb for a sacrificial feast in which I had the opportunity to participate in 1955. A sheep was ritually killed by the chief and eaten close to the tomb. Later there was a prayer led by the chief, who thereupon entered the tomb to take soil which was distributed between all worshippers. They put the soil on the top of their heads and also in their mouths to benefit from the sacred power of the deceased chief. – Ancestral worship of this type is most probably no traditional custom of the Tuareg, but has been introduced with Islam. Tuareg are generally afraid of deceased persons and will avoid their tombs.

Mohammed, who belonged to the Kel Ferouan clan through his mother, while his father came from the Iforas. After one year he was dismissed by the vassals. Apparently he was no close kinsman of the preceding drum-chief, Rali.

Ouanarli, who had no bonds of kinship with the Kel Ferouan clan. His father belonged to the religious and in Tuareg opinion very holy clan of Kel Es Souk. He was dismissed by the vassals after one year's reign.

Afanou, who belonged to the Echchikhen. He died after one year's reign.

Koutia, who was of noble Kel Ferouan stock being the son of Rali's younger brother.

Agg Elkher, of pure noble origin being the son of Rali's daughter. He gave up his office after a period of some years, but was later re-elected. He is the present drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan group.

Azerkar, who was the son of Rali.

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara. Punishments for theft are said to have been very severe. A thief who had not stolen previously was put into jail in Agadez; if he stole again after his release one of his hands was cut off, while for a third theft the penalty was capital punishment said to be carried out at the market place of Agadez in a very cruel way:– pointed sticks were placed under the man's armpits, under his chin, and under the back of his head so that he would die when no longer capable of keeping standing. Punitive measures as imprisonment and capital punishment are no doubt foreign to traditional Tuareg law and were in all probability originally practised by the Sultan. As the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan was in fact the true master of Air, including the city of Agadez, he may have made use of the prison as he may have imposed capital punishment on thieves. But proper theft is very rare among pastoral Tuareg.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but he would also joke with them. A joking relationship similar to that of cross-cousins and of brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the Kel Ferouan group. They would joke with each other unless there were a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". I have already referred to the theory that the social function of joking between cross-cousins and in-laws seems to be the prevention of conflicts. The function of joking between people of different classes is similar, and this should be the more emphasized as this very explanation has frequently been given me by the Tuareg. "People who are different tease each other to prevent troubles", they say. For this very reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. Thus there would be no joking between vassals of the Kel Ferouan group and noble Tuareg of the Kel Fadei. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals would not take place in the past. This is not entirely true, but they seem to have been rare. I think that one reason for this may be due to the fact that marriages between noble Tuareg and their vassals would tend to break down the structure of the political system. By such marriages the noble Tuareg, including the drum-chief, would acquire a great many relatives-in-law to whom the conduct would be avoidance or institutionally constant joking. For in addition to true in-laws there are numerous classificatory in-laws. Thus a man (or a woman) has all spouses of his brothers and sisters and

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

114 174 233 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the 175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the 101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions: 233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature 175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding 233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly 171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is 233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the [177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black [342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common [462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is [825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their [538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

191 /62 cont./ In spite of this difficulty in transcription, the Tuareg amuse themselves by transposing the letters in a word, making it utterly incomprehensible for the uninitiated.

[177] At the present time Tamashek is borrowing many words from Arabic and French. Father de Foucauld had already noticed during his time this invasion of Arabic and the way the Tuareg adapted numerous words to their own speech habits.

[212] In the noble tribes, each individual knows how to read and write, but that is not the case with the imrads, for many of the vassals barely know how to write their names.

The richness of the spoken language is greatly declining due to bilingualism and doubtless also because poetry, formerly inspired by the exploits of the warriors, tends to disappear. One may thus realize the importance of Father de Foucauld's work, which permanently recorded a language of oral tradition.

There will certainly come a day when the Tuareg will have to use French to perfect themselves in their own language.

NOTE: Some compound characters.:

[212] = bt = cht = rt = st

/63/ II

Economy

Generalizations on the Economy of the Ahaggar

241 A country such as the one we have seen in the study of the physical characteristics of the Ahaggar, possessing very limited resources because of the scarcity of water and the poverty of the soil, can only have an agriculture of small and uncertain productivity.

291 /103 cont./ occasions. The "ra'ki" is another veil, as large as the tabarikant and made of wool, but white; it is also very rare.

The Tuareg woman does not wear a sarroil but a kind of knee-length skirt, a simple piece of cloth tied around the waist, called "assedjebès." Young girls begin wearing assedjebès when they are nubile.

The woman wear ighatimen for footgear, carry tera, and all have a taralabt slightly different from that of the men. The iremdan is often carried without a case. In winter the tabrok (dokkali) is also a feminine garment.

[854] All of the young children are naked; later they put on the blue gandurah; the boys have a sarroil toward the age of eight or nine. At about fifteen, they begin to wear the veil.

Food

262 The Tuareg are particularly frugal eaters, and their condition of life does not predispose them to a finely prepared cuisine. Tuareg food has nothing about it to flatter the tastes of a gourmet. The few /104/ dishes palatable for a Frenchman [177] have been borrowed from the Arabs and will not be mentioned here.

The basic elements of the Tuareg diet are: millet, milk, and dates. Millet (enelé) comes from the Sudan or is harvested in the Ahaggar as a summer crop; the latter, whose grain is smaller, is better liked but is insufficient in quantity.

252 Millet (the "bechena" of the Arabs) is crushed with a pestle and winnowed to keep only the white flour. This flour is sometimes eaten just as it is after crushing: this is the "tibik" used on the trail by the hurrying cameleer, and it is sometimes used even in camp.

Also called tibik is a more complicated preparation: millet is crushed, winnowed, then washed and put in a tarahout. Heated pebbles are buried in the grain until it become slightly cooked or rather roasted. The progress of the

526 /141 cont./ The young Tuareg dress very carefully, /142/ each showing great fastidiousness. The camel is decked out as richly as possible. Half of the riders line up about 50 meters from the tendi, and the other half at an equal distance on the other side of the tendi. The Tuareg ride from one line to the other in pairs; each Targui watches his bearing, holding himself straight but supple, makes his mount hold its head as high as possible and keeps it abreast of its neighbor, making it trot with the gait called senat-senat or kibarat.

Quitting this back-and-forth movement, a group of riders circles the tendi as close as possible to the women; one of the Tuareg seizes one of the singers' alechou and rides off furiously, whipping his mount. His friends chase him, trying to take the veil from him. The one who succeeds in recapturing it takes it back, as victor, to its owner. He is saluted with tarallélit (the you-you of the Moors). The ilougan lasts until nightfall.

● [177] It must be noted that the tendi did not originate in the Ahaggar; it was imported from the Adrar des Iforas and from Tamesna.

584 A gathering native to the Ahaggar is the assihar. A great number of men and women gather around a famous woman imzad player. They listen to the violin, which begins the first measures of a familiar song, then a man or a woman begins to sing. Between songs conversations are held, and flirtations begin in the darkness, but within the strictest bounds of propriety.

When the assihar ends late at night, young men and women go off in small groups; this is the ahal. A woman escorted by two or three young men goes to sit by a bend in a wadi. Her companions speak to her aloud when the conversation is for all ears or very softly in the ear when there are confidences to make. One of them takes the young woman's hand and holds it in his; an old Targui said: "I once held the hand of the woman I desired for three straight nights, and for three days I did not eat."

593 /149 cont./ commands." "Tuareg hospitality is characterized
562 by promiscuity, a sort of traditional prostitution." The truth is entirely different. The origin of Tuareg matriarchy is certainly lost in neolithic customs; ignorance of the process of conception may have been the cause. This familial organization led to exogamy, which tends to disappear; incest is
[835] a crime more terrible than murder. Matriarchy is the guardian of the caste system: the duty of mutual assistance bestows on the warriors (nobles) part of the fruits of others' labor and
[548] gives them ownership of the land. Prostitution does not exist; monogamy is the rule; the woman is respected. "Maternal rights," as L.-G. Richard says, "consist rather of mutual obligations than of prerogatives or advantages." There is no female liberty, for the woman owes herself to her family; in fact, she exercises no rights whatsoever; she transmits them. A custom still practiced, characteristic of matriarchy, is the requirement for the young husband to live a certain time in his wife's camp.

177 Let us repeat that Islam little by little is destroying the
593 matriarchal customs, particularly insofar as succession is con-
622 cerned, for they are increasingly regulated by Moslem practices. Today, the chiefs even desire to leave their power to their sons.

/151/ VI

Conclusion

000 The Ahaggar is, I believe, the most engaging part of the Sahara -- and I have conveyed neither the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attraction it has for travelers, nor the anguish it sometimes instills in certain souls, when from October to

177 /152 cont./ Large-scale tourism has adopted the Ahaggar; mountain climbers count the virgin peaks still to be scaled and are guided by young Tuareg who begin to speak French. We cannot do otherwise than congratulate ourselves on the material results obtained, but how many Saharans miss, in the bottom of their hearts, the days of the monthly mail, evoking a fairly recent period but one which already seems long past? It was the period that drew them to the Ahaggar, which now is being led, little by little, to the light of this century.

/153/ Appendices

I

Historical Account of the French Occupation

175

February 16, 1881. The Flatters mission is massacred by the Kel Rela and Tédjéhé Mellet Tuareg, aided by a few imrad.

1887. A Taïtok raiding party is taken by surprise at Hassi Hinifel. Thirty Tuareg are taken to Algiers as prisoners for four years. It is with the aid of these Tuareg that Hanoteau will work out the first Tamashek grammar. One of these prisoners becomes the friend of the explorer Crampel, who later was to be killed by his so-called friend.

1898. The Kel Rela and the Taïtok are at war. The latter, defeated by Moussa ag Amastane, flee to the region of the Oulimiden.

1899. Commandant Pein, accompanied by Flamand, carries out a mission to occupy the Tidikelt, thus cutting the Tuareg off from their trading markets of Aoulef and In-Salah.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

177 [191] [192] The Tuareg have contact with a great many people speaking other tongues, and most Tuareg men know one or two languages in addition to their mother tongue. A great many Northern Tuareg speak Arabic, and some of them even Hausa, as these two languages are important to them during caravan trading. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-*n*-Ajjer the Tuareg language has adopted many Arabic words. This is not the case to the same extent in Ayr, where most loan-words are taken over from Hausa which language is spoken by most Tuareg men. Even the *Kel Ewey* dialect is extremely mixed with Hausa. It should be mentioned that Tuareg women have very little knowledge of foreign languages. 177 184 They generally speak neither Arabic nor Hausa.

The women have played a great part in the preservation of the Tuareg language and culture. But the latter has nevertheless been much influenced by contact with culturally different peoples. Foreign influences are responsible for certain distinctions in the Tuareg cultures of the north and the south.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

their flocks, but it is, on the whole, inproper to show any interest in their animals. Some nomads will even claim that although they know all their goats by sight, they do not know, or never mention, the total number of their animals, as this is believed to bring bad luck. This belief is probably explained by the idea of the evil eye. To this may be added that it is difficult to judge the ownership of goats by merely watching the flock of a household which may also have animals grazing on other pastures.

According to official statistics for 1948, the average number of goats per household among the *Kel Ahaggar* is fifteen (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). This figure is probably derived from the tax lists, and it seems to be much too low – even when households of slaves and sedentary agriculturists are included. Lhote has stated that the number of goats per person, under ideal conditions, is 35–40. If they increase above this, the surplus is slaughtered or sold to the sedentary peoples of the oases (Lhote 1951a, p. 9). This latter figure for ownership of goats under ideal conditions is probably true for the more wealthy Tuareg of Ahaggar. Thus among the vassal Tuareg of the *Dag Rali* tribe many household are said to possess 100–200 goats, but this tribe is considered extremely rich in goats, and households of other tribes will not generally own so many animals. From rough calculations made in a great many camps of vassal Tuareg, and Tuareg of the *Isekkemaren* class, I estimate that households on an average possess 60–70 goats when pastures are not too badly developed, for it must be emphasized that the size of flocks changes with climatic conditions. For the sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar I estimate, on the basis of calculations made at Amsel, Abalessa, and Tarhawhawt, that a household possesses on average 15–20 goats.

In good years the amount of milk products supplied by a flock of 60 goats is rather considerable. This is clear when we consider the fact that a goat, during the period of three to four months in autumn and early winter when pasture of annual plants is green, will yield up to two litres of milk every day. When annual pasture gets dry the milk yield decreases but milk is still comparatively plentiful and important for food all the winter. In summer, however, there is little milk for reasons already referred to, and in dry years goats, even in the cold season, yield little or no milk. The flocks decrease during such periods of drought and some nomads may even lose most of their animals. During my stay among the Tuareg of Ahnet and Ahaggar from November 1954 to April 1955, goats suffered much from lack of fodder. In many camps one or two goats died of hunger every day.

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot subsist entirely on goat-breeding because severe droughts occur frequently in their country. During drought-periods the goats are so to speak valueless as subsistence for the nomads. But it is remarkable that goats emaciated in consequence of severe drought quickly grow fat and start to yield milk once rain has fallen abundantly enough for the regeneration of pastures. In connection with this we shall point to another characteristic of goat-breeding: The animals have a very short gestation period, and the kids are fully grown for mating in one year. And as one goat may have four kids annually with free mating, a household, which has lost most animals during a drought, will be able very quickly to re-establish a flock large enough for its needs.

Goats are also highly important for the subsistence of the pastoral Tuareg of Ayr. I do not know of any statistic material about the size of flocks in this area, but for Tuareg of Kidal (Adrar-n-Foras) flocks are officially estimated at 74 goats and sheep per household (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 269), and this region is environmentally related to Southern Ayr. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that a household

[Text continues on p. 45]

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the daily dogfights which are considered a kind of entertainment to everybody in the camp. Colour-terms are also used for dogs, and I have heard one Tuareg boy claim that he preferred dogs that were black and white. Adult people in general treat dogs differently, and they are frequently cruel to them, which may be due to Islamic influence which is on the increase among the Tuareg. Though the Tuareg may be cruel to their dogs they acknowledge that they are very "wise and intelligent". They say that the dogs are much like humans with the exception that they cannot speak. Therefore they should also be fed like humans, and they are given millet-porridge – with milk if the yield is abundant. The Tuareg kill their old and superfluous dogs by hanging them from a tree in a noosed rope, and they consider this method very effective.

CATS

The domestic cat is found in many Tuareg camps. It is generally termed *muchch* which is Arabic by origin. I believe that domestic cats have been introduced to Tuareg countries later than the Arab invasions and that they have been introduced by the Arabs. This is in agreement with Lagercrantz's statement that domestic cats in most parts of North Africa outside of Egypt are post-Arabian (Lagercrantz 1950, p. 65). Cats are allowed to live in tents and huts, and are well treated as among the Arabs. The Tuareg keep cats not only for pets to their children, but they much like to have them in their camps as cats catch numerous scorpions and also attack snakes.

Among sedentary people of Ahaggar and particularly at Tamanṛaset the hedgehog (*ékenisi*, or *tékenisit*) is sometimes kept in the house or within the courtyard as it hunts beetles and scorpions during the night. This custom of keeping tame hedgehogs is no doubt recently adopted from Europeans living at Tamanṛaset.

Fig. 91. A true greyhound (*aska*) patted by a negroid agriculturist of the *Kel Ganet*. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Ureren* tribe.

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Social Aspects of Stock-Breeding

Pastoral Tuareg have (or had) important matrilineal traits of social organization and also patrilineal traits which have been adopted partly through contact with the Arabs from whom they have taken over the Islamic rules of inheritance. Koranic inheritance rules are followed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, but some social aspects of Tuareg stock-breeding differ in these two areas.

AHAGGAR

I shall briefly describe the Koranic rules valid for inheritance of all kinds of individually owned property, e.g., livestock, material goods, and money, though most Tuareg do not regard money as something to be conserved. It is a main rule that children inherit their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as large as that allotted to a daughter. Important details of these rules can appropriately be illustrated with a few examples which I took down in Ahaggar:—

(1) A married couple having a son and a daughter. When the husband dies all his property is divided into eight parts of equal value. One of these parts is given to the widow, and the remaining seven parts are thereupon re-divided into three parts, two of which are allotted the son while one part is given to the daughter. When the widow dies her property is divided into three parts – two parts for her son, one part for her daughter.

(2) A married couple having a son and a daughter. The wife dies and her property is divided into four parts – one for the widower, another for the daughter, and two parts for the son. When the widower dies his property is divided into three parts – two parts for the son, one part for the daughter.

(3) A married couple having no children. At the death of the husband his property is divided into four parts. Only one of these parts is allotted to the widow, while the remaining three parts are taken over by individuals of the husband's family according to the rules mentioned below for inheritance from an unmarried man.

(4) A married couple having no children. At the wife's death her property is divided into two parts. One part is given to the widower, the other to the deceased wife's family.

(5) At the death of an unmarried man one sixth of his property is given to his mother (or to his mother's mother), while the remainder is taken over by his father.

(6) An unmarried man who has lost his father, but has alive his father's father, a brother and a

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224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*taṛant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aṭula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. 43 The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112–113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenderbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

564 177 The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhenlyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt*; *abekni*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*ébeggi*, *aggwr*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi*, *érechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*éidewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akwndar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens 223 (*aṛalef*, *taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaz*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*téḳadewt*, *tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.).

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Rat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselseli*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 564 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agriculturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara duprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*égefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 565 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikka* is eaten

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annually among the Ayr Tuareg is apparently also a low one. Brouin estimates that about 200 oryx antelopes, 3–10 of the protected giraffes, and 100–1000 gazelles are killed annually by native hunters within the Cercle d'Agadez (Brouin 1950, p. 435).

Traditional hunting methods in Ayr are as follows:—

(1) Hunting by means of the spear (*tarda*). This weapon is fitted with a wooden shaft like the hunting spear used in Ahaggar, but the slender barbed spear of the Tebu is also used by many Ayr Tuareg.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Cf. the Ahaggar Tuareg above (p. 158 f.).

(3) Hunting in disguise. The Ayr hunters employ a disguise of straw. Bundles of straw are attached to the hunter's body, and the hunter furthermore carries a big straw-bundle in each hand. Walking in a bent position he is able to approach the game (gazelle and antelope) in this way. It is very probable that skin-clothing has also been used as a disguise (cf. Brouin 1950, p. 447 f.).

(4) The running down of game animals by men mounted on camels or horses is a method rarely employed within the Ayr Massif, though practised by certain Tuareg inhabiting the southern plains.

(5) Hunting with dogs. This is practised in the mountains. Barbary sheep are attacked and surrounded by the dogs, and normally killed by means of the spear. – It is said that a hunter having no dogs at his disposal can make a barbary sheep stop if he barks like a dog.

(6) Hunting by driving the animals into closed river valleys. The method is said to be used for

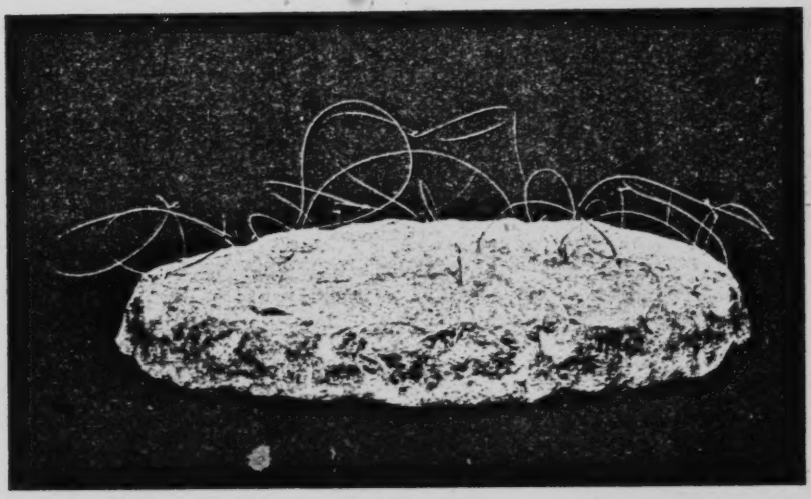

Fig. 118. Snares (*i'izagin*, sing. *tazek*) made from hair and inserted into a piece of sun-dried clay. Used for little birds which are fed with millet placed upon the piece of clay. Ayr, boys of the *Imeggedesen*. Dimension: 0.15 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6622).

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p. 447; Bissuel 1888, p. 94 f.; Harding King 1903, p. 272, photograph opposite title-page; Rodd 1926a, p. 235; Lhote 1955a, p. 375).

In Ayr I collected evidence of the fact that the sling known as *ifezemfes* was very common in former days. It was made from plaited dum palm leaves, but the Tuareg claim that it was not a hunting weapon, as it could not be used with precision. For the same reason, it is said, the sling could not be used for herding domestic animals – there would be a great risk of wounding them. It seems as though the sling among the Ayr Tuareg was used mainly as a toy. It has apparently disappeared, and a Tuareg of the religious *Ineslemen* class told me that the sling was a bad thing to use, because of a story in the Ḳoran of a sling that was once used to throw a man into the fire. I do not know whether the sling is, or was, used among the Northern Tuareg, but think it very likely. The sling has an extremely wide distribution in Africa, and it has been recorded from various northern Berber tribes and from the Fezzan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 214 ff.).

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr, like pastoral Arabs of Algeria, frequently carry a short, heavy stick (*aburi*). A stick of this kind is sometimes used as a throwing stick, or throwing club, by Tuareg and Arabs, but cannot be characterized as a proper throwing stick. It is only occasionally used as a hunting implement thrown against birds and small animals and serve many different purposes. I believe that most Tuareg carry such heavy sticks as a weapon for personal protection and for killing poisonous snakes. In literature it is stated that true throwing clubs or throwing sticks occur among the Tuareg (cf. Lindblom 1925, I, p. 117, 137 f.), but they seem to be unknown both in Ahaggar and in Ayr. A large wooden club, collected at Timbuktu by O. Hagerup and now in the National Museum (Copenhagen), is rather to be considered a weapon than a hunting implement (cf. Fig. 120 b). The throwing knife that is sometimes stated to be a Tuareg weapon is not traditionally used by these people. A rare throwing knife may be introduced into Ayr from the Teda together with spears and knives of Teda type (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 202 f.).

Hunting may have been important to many Tuareg in the past when game was more abundant. Today true hunters are found mainly in tribes living in isolated and mountainous regions, notably among the *Kel Tamgak* or *Imedderaren* (Ayr), and among the *Dag Rali* (Ahaggar). It is very interesting that proper hunting territories are found within the territory of the *Dag Rali* tribe, and it is significant that it is strictly forbidden to graze domestic animals withing two hunting territories where barbary sheep are also protected for a period of three months every year (cf. p. 148). It is also interesting that the Tuareg have certain age-terms which are used exclusively for game animals. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg have three age-terms for gazelle:—

Age	Male	Female
Kid from its birth to the appearance of its horns . .	*awhim*	*tawhimt*
Animal not yet fully grown having small horns . . .	*ahyar*	*tahyart*
Fully grown animal	*ahenkoḍ*	*tahenkoṭ*

Certain superstitious usages and beliefs are connected with hunting among the Tuareg:—

(1) When a gazelle is killed its black tail-tuft is immediately cut off and placed in one of the animal's nostrils (Fig. 122). This is common practise among all Tuareg and also among Arabs of the Sahara.

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḫarratin* from the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ganet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ganet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *ajudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemtéyen* (living at Ḫat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Infer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḫarratin* (*Izeggaren*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ganet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from the administration centre of Tamanṛaset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural

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433 439 in the Sudan for such articles as camel saddles, sandals, swords, millet mortars, indigo cotton, earthenware pots, and the like. The Tuareg may also buy quantities of butter and cheese for sale to the sedentary people of Tidikelt and for their own use in dry years.

The Sudanese trade constitutes the great stabilizing factor in the economy of pastoral Tuareg of [262] Ahaggar. In return for the valuable rock-salt, pastoral Tuareg obtain the bulk of their agricultural food products (millet), butter and cheese for their own consumption in dry years, many important artefacts and notably their camel saddles and their millet mortars. They also get a surplus of millet and goods for investment in their Ahaggar gardens and for selling to the sedentary people of the Tidikelt oases.

There are certain Tuareg who do not engage in the Sudanese salt trade, notably those living in Ahnet; and these Tuareg nowadays have no irrigated gardens either. They acquire their necessary vegetable food products from Tidikelt (dates) and from Abalessa and Tamanṛaset (wheat). They buy these vegetable products with their surplus of goats, sheep, camels, butter and cheese, and an occasional [511] barbary sheep. In a good year they can meet their needs of food in this way, but it is most difficult for them to subsist in dry years; and it may happen that two dry years come in succession. When I [114] stayed among the Ahnet Tuareg in 1954–55, all camps visited were very short of food, while the Tuareg of the Ahaggar Massif who engage much in the salt trade (the *Dag Rali* and the *Aguh-en-tehlé*) possessed what they needed of wheat, barley, dates, and millet.

[344] To-day there is a rather important market at Tamanṛaset where many Tuareg sell surplus livestock, [435] and where they can also buy cereals and dates. But it is always profitable to sell livestock and meat in the Tidikelt oases where meat, butter and cheese are very expensive articles. Dates are cheap in these 000 oases, European goods and woven blankets are also cheaper than at Tamanṛaset. The trading expedi-

804 322 ●177

Fig. 150. Wooden measure (*mudu*) which contains one kilo of cereals, or the like. The Tuareg have adopted the kilogramme into their own weight system. The proper Tuareg unit is the *tazîwa* which, according to Foucauld, corresponds to three kilogrammes (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1160), but nowadays the Ahaggar Tuareg count one *tazîwa* as equal to two kilogrammes and a half. The Tuareg have wooden or metal measures of *tazîwa* size, and there are also larger measures to be used for grain, dates, and the like. For units smaller than *mudu* the Tuareg sometimes use a wooden measure called *tamṛkast* which holds half a kilogramme. Smaller quantities are measured with the hand held half open, and it is recognized in Ahaggar that one *tazîwa* corresponds to 99 handfuls. In Ayr it is very common to use a little plaited bowl (*téfakomi*) as the smallest unit of measurement. Dimension: 0.140 m high, 0.125 m in diameter at the rim. (F.M. 168).

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Fig. 164. Pail (*ɣrir*) made from tinned brass by blacksmiths. It is used for storing butter to be used for food preparation in the tent. Pails of this type form part of the dowry in the *Dag Rali* tribe. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamasrasset. Dimension: 0.155 m high, 0.230–0.235 m in diameter at the rim. (N.M. G. 5820).

they perform a sacrifice, the idea of which seems to be an identification of the man and the killed animal. This idea appears most clearly at the sacrifice made on the occasion of the name-giving feast seven days after the birth of a child. A marabut, that is a Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class, and the father of the child stand close together with their faces towards Mecca while the animal to be sacrified is kept to the ground. The marabut cuts the animal's throat and doing so cries out the name to be given to the child, and this name is thereupon repeated by the child's father. When the killing is performed in this way the knife (*elmusi* in Ahaggar; *ɛzegiz* in Ayr) and the cut across the throat are washed with water before skinning is undertaken. I have dealt with certain ideas of Tuareg sacrifice elsewhere, and have stated that on certain occasions they may sacrifice not to God but to the *Kel Asuf* spirits (Nicolaisen 1961, p. 122 f., 147 f.). But whatever may be the ideas attached to Tuareg sacrifices all animals, with the exception of the camel (cf. above p. 65), are killed by cutting their throat.

The methods of meat preparation are almost identical in Ayr and Ahaggar. The most common method everywhere is cooking in an earthen pot, known in Ahaggar as *ufrun*, *téɣirt*, *alekkin*, or *talekkint* according to its size and form, or in a metal pot (*ɣrir*) of European origin. Such European pots are common everywhere in Tuareg camps, but earthen pots are still used though less durable, for earthen pots are cheap. Pots made of metal or copper, which are also known as *ɣrir*, were also found among

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Fig. 165. Horn (*isrk*) of barbary sheep used for storing butter for greasing the hair. The opening is closed with a piece of date palm bast (*asan*), and the edge is pierced with a glowing awl (*énder*) for the insertion of a cord of goat's hair by means of which the horn is attached to the tent ceiling. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.30 m long. (F.M. 236).

252 *415 322 the Tuareg in the past. I believe that they were made by blacksmiths or imported from the north. Pastoral Tuareg do not manufacture earthen pots which are obtained from sedentary people. The cooking of meat is perhaps not a traditional method of food preparation to the Tuareg, though they seem to have used cooking pots for centuries.

252 ●177 A method of meat preparation undoubtedly introduced recently among the Tuareg, is that of spit roasting. Meat roasted in this way is known as *mechwi*, a word of Arab origin, and the Northern Tuareg have taken over the method from the Arabs. The *mechwi* method is also known in Ayr, where it has perhaps been introduced by French administrators who had learned to appreciate meat thus prepared during their visits among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Pieces of sheep and goats and entire animals are prepared in this way (Fig. 174), and the meat should preferably be prepared with butter and red pepper before roasting.

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The traditional Tuareg roasting method is to place entire animals (goats, sheep), or parts of them, under the hot ashes of the fire. This method is known to the Northern Tuareg as *abatul*, to the Tuareg of Ayr as *ébewil* (Fig. 175). This method of roasting meat is practised everywhere among the Tuareg, and it is on the whole similar to the method used for bread-baking described below (p. 238 f.).

Meat-roasting in the ashes is no doubt an ancient Tuareg method of food-preparation, and this also holds good for another method described in connection with the preparation of milk, namely food preparation by means of hot stones (cf. p. 221). The Ahaggar Tuareg prepare the stomachs of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep in this way, putting hot stones into the stomachs, while camel stomachs are boiled in a cooking pot and gazelle stomachs roasted in the ashes according to the *abatul* method mentioned above. These rules of food preparation seem also to be practised by the Ayr Tuareg, who put hot stones into stomachs of sheep and goats together with small pieces of meat. A stomach of goats or sheep prepared in this way, however, is given a final treatment in hot sand or in ashes close to the fire. The stomach of sheep or goats cooked with hot stones is known as *tarafa*, and a related word seems to be known also in Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583).

262 The Tuareg eat most entrails of their slaughtered animals. Entrails of camels are normally boiled, and kidneys of all animals are prepared in this way. Most entrails of goats and sheep (liver, heart, and lungs) are roasted on the embers or in the ashes, and in Ayr the Tuareg roast fat put into the abomasum (*tedeṛant*). The Northern Tuareg generally prepare liver and fat together in the following manner:— The liver is roasted upon the embers, is thereupon cut into small pieces which are wrapped

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up with small strips of fat. The pieces of liver covered with fat are put on a slender iron or wooden rod to be roasted slightly over the fire. This dish is known to all Tuareg by the Arabic word *elmefief*. It was introduced among the Northern Tuareg by the Arabs, but is not widely known among the Ayr Tuareg.

This brief description of Tuareg meat preparation can adequately be supplemented by a reference to two peculiar dishes:— (1) A dish known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *talebeggat*. It consists of meat which after boiling or roasting is pounded in a large mortar and frequently served with liquid butter. This dish is also known to the Ayr Tuareg. (2) A dish which is described from Ahaggar by Foucauld under the name *aberghor*. It consists of untanned skin which is eaten in case of hunger after the following preparation:— Untanned skin from household implements, shields, and the like is roasted under the ashes, and is thereupon pounded into small pieces. These are eaten without any further preparation, or after boiling. (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 73).

Like other North African peoples the Tuareg dry meat of domestic animals and of game. The people of Ayr know three distinct drying methods, namely (1) *iwesan*, that is meat which is boiled until it is free of blood; it is dried in the shade; (2) *tikelsin*, uncooked meat cut into pieces to be dried on a string in the shade; (3) *kulez*, uncooked meat cut into strips which are dried for some time to be treated with salt and various spices. This last method is not practised among the Tuareg of Ayr, but by sedentary people of Agadez and by Negroes further south in Damergu. The Ahaggar Tuareg generally boil or roast the meat before drying; meat roasted in the ashes according to the *abarul* method and thereupon dried is known as *takasa*. I do not know whether the Ahaggar Tuareg also practise the method of drying raw meat like the Ayr Tuareg, but the dried *agezzeram* lizzards which they take to Tidikelt on trading expeditions, are dried uncooked. Furthermore, the method of drying raw meat is known elsewhere in the Northern Sahara, and I have myself seen it practised among the Berber-speaking *Chawiya* of Aurès.

I conclude the description of Tuareg meat preparation with a brief note on the use of blood of living

Fig. 166. Wooden double-vessel (*azar*) to contain water and butter for greasing the hair. Similar containers with a third vessel for fine-grained sand are also found among the Tuareg. Made by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Geometrical ornaments are produced by burning with a hot iron. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs at Tamaqaut. Dimension: 0.241 m long. (N.M. G. 5880).

[text continues on p. 235]

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Fig. 171. Ordinary meat-knife (*elmusi*) of the type used among Northern Tuareg and Arabs. Its broken handle is mended with hide of barbary sheep sewn with leather thread. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.28 m (total length). (F.M. 249).
All knives are manufactured by blacksmiths.

wheat bread is eaten particularly during migrations and on trading expeditions, or in periods when butter is rare (Lhote 1955a, p. 262). This statement disagrees with my own experience. Wheat bread is an ordinary diet of many Northern Tuareg. Bread is also baked from barley and from certain wild seeds (notably *tawit*, *Chenopodium Vulvaria*; *ihéyefyef*, *Aizoon canariense*; *tullult*, *Aristida pungens*) and wild roots (*ahahel*, *Cistanche Phelypaea*), while millet and sorghum are considered less suitable for baking. Seeds are generally prepared for baking by grinding them into flour by saddle querns or handmills. In Northern Tuareg country there are two types of bread which have been introduced as a result of contact with Arabs or the Arabic-speaking *Ḥarratin*. One type is named *elfetat* and is baked

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Fig. 172a–b. Meat knives.
a. Knife (*dzegiz*) of Tebu type to be carried in its sheath around the upper arm. These knives are sometimes used in Ayr. Agadez. Dimension: 0.370 m. (total length). (N.M. G. 6620a–b).
b. Knife (*dzegiz*) of the double-edged type normally used in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.377 m (total length). N.M. G. 6665a–b).

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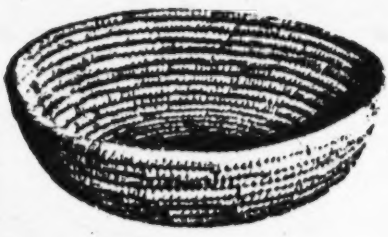

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Fig. 185. Tray or bowl *,asheyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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415*
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Fig. 186. Pot (*talekkist*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as mentioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat.

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Harratin*) have introduced among the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very

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as *tḍyint* (Ayr) or *talekkint* (Ahaggar). But pastoral Tuareg do not make earthenware pots themselves. They obtain them from sedentary people, and it is possible that vegetable dishes have been prepared with hot stones up to recent times, for Foucauld states that hot stones are occasionally used for various vegetable dishes in Ahaggar (Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1583). However, I have not been able to confirm this during my own investigations among the Tuareg. It should be added that certain vegetable dishes are neither boiled nor baked. This is the case with seeds and roots of various wild plants which are ground and pounded into flour to be eaten without further preparation. Such dishes are known to the Tuareg as *tébik* (Ahaggar) or *téderka* (Ayr). Seeds and roots of wild plants utilized in this way have been mentioned in the chapter on collecting p. 175 ff.

The Tuareg have a great many different dishes, but in spite of this variety they do not always change their food from one day to another. They frequently live on the same type of food for extremely long periods. They may live almost exclusively on milk for weeks and even months, and if milk is not available they live so to speak exclusively on vegetable dishes, which may also not be changed for very long periods.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have three meals a day:— (1) *taġimġimt* which is a light meal taken in the morning. (2) *amekli* which is a prepared meal (e.g., bread, porridge, or *aṛehara*) eaten at midday. (3) *amaġin* which is the evening meal, also known as *amensi*, or *aẓuẓeġ*. It is the most important meal.

Fig. 193. Tuareg woman cooking kuskus (*keskesu*) in an European enamelled pot. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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by blacksmiths (*Ineḍen*). Tuareg women wear certain stone ornaments which derive from prehistoric finds or are introduced from other countries. But in Ahaggar I have collected one stone ornament, or rather an amulet, which was said to have been manufactured by a Tuareg woman of the vassal class. This stone amulet (*amerwan*) (Fig. 201) may be described as a large bead or button pierced in the middle for the insertion of a leather strap. It is said to be used as an amulet against diseases of little children, who are also very fond of looking at the red-white stone material from which the amulet button is made. The hole for the little carrying strap is made by means of an awl known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b, p. 278). This stone amulet has been described elsewhere together with certain other stone ornaments used among the Ahaggar Tuareg (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, Fig. 6a–l p. 128 f., p. 139 f.).

Earthen pots are widely used by pastoral Tuareg even nowadays, though European metal vessels are available at the principal trading centres. They are particularly common in Ahaggar where the Tuareg take their earthen pots with them on donkey's back during nomadic migrations – the old belief that pottery does not go with the roaming life of pastoralists is contrary to fact. However, metal vessels are, of course, more durable and will no doubt in a few years replace the earthen pots which are not manufactured by pastoral Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their pots from the cultivation centres where there are a few women who practise the art of pottery making. There are various types of pots (cf. Figs. 186, 187a–b) which are made from black clay (*talak*). The lowermost part of all pots is formed over the bottom of an old pot on which is placed a piece of moistened cotton in order that the clay shall not stick. The upper part of the pots is built up with the hands according to the well-known technique of the application of thin sausage-like strips of clay. This technique is also used for the manufacture of other containers such as earthen milk-bowls (*akus*) (Fig. 21a), incense jars (*elbakhkhar*) (Fig. 203), and drums (*akralal*, *abakar*) (Fig. 202a–b). These latter types of pottery are not in general use among pastoral Tuareg but are common among sedentary agriculturists. The pottery made in

Fig. 199. Neolithic stone axe known to the Tuareg as *tafeft n afrane*. Used as whetstone for iron knives. Ahaggar, the *Aṭuh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.10 m long. (F.M. 109).

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A photograph illustrating a women making a bag from spun hair is reproduced by Lhote, who states that bags of this nature are rarely manufactured nowadays and are made exclusively by a few noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe (Lhote 1955a, p. 319 f., pl. XV p. 384). This statement does not agree with information gathered by myself in Ahaggar, where I was told that bags were made from spun hair by Tuareg women of other tribes and notably by women of the *Isekkemaren* class.

In Ayr spinning of cotton is performed mainly to obtain sewing thread, which is considered superior to European thread for sewing cotton clothes. To my knowledge most pastoral women do not spin their own cotton thread but buy it at the market of Agadez. However I have noted the existence of simple cotton bows in a *Kel Tédalé* camp in the northern part of the Ayr Massif. The occurrence of the simple cotton bow among the Ayr Tuareg should no doubt be viewed in connection with the use of this implement in the Western Sudan (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 260 ff.) from where the cotton plant has also been introduced.

Coiled basket-work plays an important part with the Tuareg, particularly the Northern Tuareg who are experts in this technique which is related to sewing. A very primitive type of coiled basketry

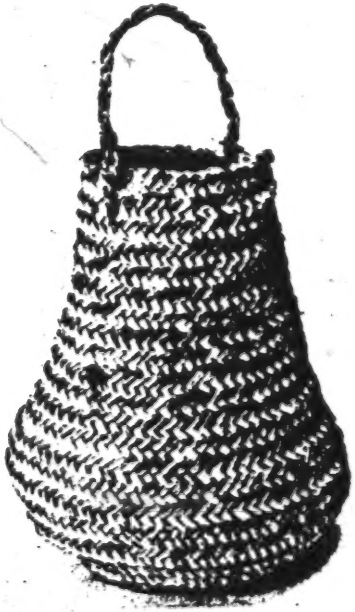

Fig. 211. Basket (*akgurgur*) plaited from date palm leaves (*aghan*). The handle is of date palm bast (*azan*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths at Abelessa. Dimension: 0.38 m high. (N.M. G. 5835).

[Text continues on p. 269]

Dress

In this chapter on Tuareg dress I do neither describe all types of Tuareg garments nor dress ornamentation, but content myself with a brief description of the prominent articles of dress and of certain peculiar garments which are interesting and important for our understanding of the cultural position of the Tuareg.

In Northern Tuareg country pastoral women sometimes wear a large hat plaited from date palm leaves and known as *télé*, which literally means "shade" (cf. Fig. 231). However, hats of this kind are never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg who obtain them from sedentary agriculturists. Hats of the same type are very common further north in Africa where they are worn not only by women but also by men, and I believe that hats of this sort were introduced to the Tuareg by the Arabs and the Arabic speaking *Harratin*, who came to Ahaggar about a hundred years ago. In Ayr I have seen plaited hats worn by one or two black-skinned men of the *Kel Ewey* group. These hats are also used among the Hausa. True pastoral Tuareg like those of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not wear hats.

It seems as if the hat is a foreign element in Tuareg culture, and that as traditional head garments the Tuareg have nothing beyond the veil and the headcloth described in some detail in the general chapter about the Tuareg (cf. p. 14 f.). We have seen that both the veil and the headcloth are sometimes referred to as *alechchu*, "a piece of Sudanese indigo cotton sewn together from narrow strips or bands", for the traditional veil and headcloth are made from this type of cotton which is highly esteemed for many other garments. It seems to be the oldest type of cotton used for dress among the Tuareg, while white cotton of an ordinary type has been introduced more recently among them. The Ayr Tuareg use the word *maser* for white cotton woven in one piece, and they say that this word refers to *Misr* (Egypt) wherefrom cotton of this particular type was first introduced. It came much later than indigo cotton of Sudanese type, which has been known in Ayr from very ancient times.

Indigo coloured cotton introduced from the Sudan is very expensive and is nowadays used mainly for festive occasions, while daily dress, including the veil, is made of European cotton, which is indigo or white in colour. There can be no doubt that the comparatively cheap European cotton has displaced the use of skin or leather for daily dress. For we know that skin shirts were extremely common in Ahaggar at the beginning of the present century (cf. Foucauld 1951-52, I, p. 112), and Duveyrier says that "le pardessus en peau" is held in esteem (Duveyrier 1864, p. 406). Before Duveyrier we have Lyon's statement that Tuareg of the Fezzan area use skin (leather) for dress:— "A leather kaftan is also much worn, of their own manufacture, as are leather shirts of the skins of antelopes, very neatly sewed, and well prepared". In addition Lyon depicts a Tuareg wearing a leather shirt with ample sleeves (Lyon 1821, p. 110).

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292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *asegbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehli* tribe.

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l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aglim* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *tratimen* (sing. *tratim*) which word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *silsleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p. 300]

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Lhote describes the skin-stockings (*abuheg*) used among the Ahaggar Tuareg as having a very particular cut, so that the first toe is separated from the other toes in order that the stocking may be worn with sandals. The following description of Tuareg skin-stockings is additionally given:— "Cette chaussette monte un peu plus haut que les chaussures européennes à tiges et se lace de même au moyen d'un lacet de peau. Il y a une petite languette et la jonction empeignetige est renforcée par une rondelle de peau fixée par une couture. La semelle est une simple peau de filali qui serait vite usée si l'on marchait directement dessus. *L'aboûheg* est fait en peau de mouton ou en peau de gazelle tannée, et souvent avec des chutes de mauvaise qualité. Les peaux sont ordinairement teintes en noire et la rondelle de renforcement en vert. Mais il y en a aussi qui sont faites en filali rouge de bonne qualité. Le prix de ces dernières est plus élevé et elles sont généralement faites sur commande. On trouve sur le marché d'Agadez, des *iboûhegen* qui sont l'oeuvre des artisans cordonniers de cette ville. Nous n'en avons jamais vu faire chez les Touareg du Nord, qui les font aujourd'hui confectionner par des artisans de Tamanrasset et s'en procurent également à Agadez. De même, nous n'en avons jamais vu porter chez les Ioullimiden de Ménéka ou chez les Tenguéréguifs. Les gens d'In Salah et de Djanet la connaissent ainsi que les Chaamba" (Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). According to Lhote, just quoted, *abouheg* (*abuheg*) is described by Foley not as stockings, but as boots, which form part of the ceremonial equipment of the Ahaggar Tuareg, while Foureau (1894, p. 203) says that wealthy Tuareg among the *Kel Ajjer* wear boots made of soft leather and manufactured at Radames, Rat, and in Ayr. These boots according to Foureau have a separate space for the first toe in order that they may be worn with sandals, and as claimed by Lhote, they are not true boots, but skin-stockings (cf. Lhote 1950d, p. 527 f.). Duveyrier also speaks of the use of soft leather boots known as *ibôhadjen* sometimes worn by chiefs (Duveyrier 1864, p. 407), and in the case of the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* Nicolas mentions the use of a type of boots ("la botte de cavalier") known as *abûzag* (pl. *ibuzâgen*) (Ar. *imâg*) (Nicolas 1950a p. 174).

Foucauld speaks of *abuheg* as a type of soft leather boots, but he mentions that this same word is also used for knitted stocking. Such stocking are also known by the feminine form *tabuhek*, though the proper meaning of this latter word is "slipper". Slippers are worn by a few men and women in winter, and a woman frequently wears them during the period of isolation (4 months and ten days) after her husband's death. According to Foucauld the leather boots (*abuheg*) are never worn by women but only by a very few men (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 36). It is a great pity that the authors who refer to the use of soft leather boots or stockings have reproduced no illustration which clearly indicates their cut. But fortunately there is a pair of leather stockings in the collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Neuchâtel. There can be little doubt that this garment serves as a stocking and not as a boot, for it has a separate space for the first toe which would be meaningless if not worn with sandals. The leather stocking is made from three pieces of leather:— (1) A sole or rather a bottom piece which is bent slightly up over the foot, notably at the heel; (2) A piece of leather covering the instep and sewn to the forepart of the bottom piece; (3) A piece of leather forming the leg and sewn to the instep and bottom pieces. It is interesting that all three pieces are of the same type of leather and that the bottom piece resembles that of moccasins.

The sort of slipper termed *tabuhek* by Foucauld and worn by both sexes, is identical with leather slippers or shoes provided with a distinct sole. These shoes seem to be of Arab origin, and I have

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292 177 seen them worn by a few Tuareg men in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The fact that they are worn by women during their period of isolation after the husband's death, a custom introduced with Islam, also indicates that these boots are connected with Islamic culture and thus with the Arabs.

[829] The Arabs possess a great religious prestige with the Tuareg, and are responsible for the introduction of many articles of dress among them. Some Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arab *gandura* of kaftan cut as a substitute for their traditional poncho shirt, and many Tuareg nowadays wear the Arab type of headcloth instead of the traditional veil. The burnus (*abernuh*) is also worn by some [171] Northern Tuareg in winter. This garment is widely used by Berbers and Arabs further north in Northern Africa. It is not traditional to the Tuareg who may have adopted it from contact with the Arabs.

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Tuareg Culture, History, and African Culture complexes

In the preceding Chapters I have mentioned most cultural traits connected with Tuareg subsistence activities. In this Chapter I attempt to view some of these traits in the light of history and the historical theories which have found their expression in the establishment of African culture complexes. I wish to emphasize at the very beginning that this investigation must omit some important traits of Tuareg culture as there is no historical information about them and because good descriptions of stock-breeding techniques are lacking in the case of most pastoralists of Africa and Asia. Consequently it is very difficult to compare in great detail Tuareg culture with other pastoral cultures.

TUAREG CULTURE AND HISTORY

True historical sources which elucidate the development of African cultures are very scanty and cover only a very short period. We know that most African cultures in recent times have been much influenced by Europeans and their culture, and that some cultures were changed fundamentally at an earlier period owing to Arab migrations and the introduction of Islam. We know that North Africa during antiquity was strongly influenced by Romans and Greeks, and still earlier by the Phoenicians. We possess from North Africa a few valuable written records from olden times and from Egypt we have earlier historical documents which help us to understand certain aspects of cultural evolution.

The occupation of Ahaggar and Ayr by the French has led to a growing cultural influence from Islam and the Arabs. Ahaggar was conquered by Arab soldiers under the command of French officers, and even nowadays a very large number of Arabs serve in the camel patrols of Ahaggar with Tuareg camel riders. Some of these Arab soldiers marry Tuareg women, and many of them settle in Ahaggar when they have retired from military service. Other Arabs and Arabic-speaking *Harratin* of Tidikelt have immigrated after the French occupation of the country. The number of people who speak Arabic as their mother tongue is not doubt increasing, and Arabic is understood and even spoken by many Tuareg men though generally unknown to Tuareg women. Added to this, the Arabs have acquired a high prestige not only on account of Islam but also because Arabic has been adopted as the main language of the administration in Ahaggar. The officers who act as administrators in Ahaggar speak and write Arabic while with rare exceptions they do not know the Tuareg language. For all these reasons certain cultural traits of the Arabs have been introduced into Ahaggar after the French occupation.

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177 162 168 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners, and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 177 173 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chamba* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco. 175 648 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

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are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamaẓight*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* north of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925-26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle-types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

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492 [177] The large saddles for women (*akhawi*, *tkhawit*, *araɣen*) (p. 88 f.) were most probably introduced by Arab pastoralists. These saddles are not known among all Tuareg. In the Northern Tuareg groups they are used in the noble class (*Ihaggaren*), in the *Iseḳḳemaren* class, which seems to have relationship with Arabs (p. 10, 398 f.), and in the *Ireɣenaten* tribe which lives in Tamesna though it belongs to the group of Ahaggar Tuareg. Its members claim to descend patrilineally from Arabs, matrineally from noble Tuareg. Large women's saddles are also found among the Tuareg of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, and there is a saddle of the *akhawi* type from this group in the ethnographical collection of the Neuchâtel Museum (no. 49.2.35). Women's saddles are also common among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*. They are described by Nicolas who mentions two types. One named *tahâwit* is perhaps constructionally different from the saddles of the north, while the other type termed *aruku* is constructionally related to riding saddles in Ahaggar, but is without the large wooden side-arches characteristic of certain northern saddles. However, saddles having arches like this are found among the *Deremchaka* Arabs who live in *Kel Dennek* territory (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47a & e, pl. X p. 177). Light women's saddles resembling the Ahaggar *tkhawit* saddle without side-arches and known as *akhawi* was seen in the camp of the noble *Kel Tahabanat* Tuareg near Ayoru. Here I was told that the wooden structure is always manufactured by blacksmiths while its cover of ochre-coloured leather is made by Tuareg women who also make the little *afezu* mat placed over the structure and serving for seat. Such saddles [565] are found only in noble tribes of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, never among vassals. Women's saddles are unknown in Ayr where the Tuareg build a riding saddle upon large cushions (cf. p. 90), and they are apparently also unknown among the *Kel Geres*. The Ayr Tuareg speak of riding saddles known as *akhawi* or *tkhawit* as "Arab saddles", and these terms are also derived from Arabic. Lhote states that he has not seen the richly-decorated saddles known as *akhawi* outside of Ahaggar (Lhote 1947a, p. 142). Thus it seems that proper women's saddles have a limited distribution among the Tuareg. They occur mainly in certain classes of the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adṛaṛ*, and the *Iwllemmeden*. 492 171 In these areas they are apparently also used by Arabs. Somewhat related women's saddles are found among the Tebu. These saddles are described by Le Coeur who states that they are normally bought in Kanem (Le Coeur 1950, p. 60, 126). I think that this may perhaps indicate their origin as this region and adjacent parts of the Lake Tchad plains have a population of pastoralists of Arab descent. Various types of women's saddles occur among all Arab pastoralists of North Africa and the Arab peninsula – possibly with the exception of certain bedouin tribes of South-eastern Arabia. I do not know whether these saddles occur among the Beja, the Danakil, and the Somali. They are not mentioned in the literature I have consulted.

492 The pack saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* (p. 76, Fig. 57) is not very common among the Northern Tuareg. It is unknown among the *Kel Ayr* and so far as I know also among the *Kel Geres*. It seems to be unknown also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* where the same structure is used as a women's saddle as mentioned above (Nicolas 1950a, p. 178 Fig. 47e). I do not know if this saddle type occurs 492 171 in other Tuareg groups. It is found in the Lake Tchad region and Chudeau considers it typical of the sahelian zone (Chudeau 1909, p. 206; Capot-Rey 1946, p. 163). It is also mentioned by Nachtigal as the typical type of saddle of the Tebu (Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457), while the Tebu saddle described by Le Coeur and now preserved in the Musée de l'homme (no. 32.50.4) is slightly different from the

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The élaki is the common saddle type all

over the northern desert inhabited by Arabs. It is known to Algerian Arabs as *ḫawiyya*, the word also used in Tripolitania where the type is extremely common (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 457). Saddles of entirely identical types occur among the Moors of Mauretania (Monteil 1952, p. 92), among Arabs of Upper Egypt (Klunzinger 1878, p. 206, Fig. 11; Murray 1935, p. 116), and in the Egyptian Sudan (Marno 1874, p. 207). Further east it seems to be in use among most, perhaps all, Arabs:— Sinai (Murray 1935, p. 116), Syrian Desert (*Sba'a* and *Rawala*) (Boucheman 1934; Musil 1928b), Hedjas (Musil 1926, Figs. 9, 15, 30, 59, 84), Negd (Musil 1928a, Fig. 66), Irak (Musil 1927b, Fig. 40). These Arabs generally call the saddle *ḥeddǧe*. It is perhaps common to all Arabs including those of Southern Arabia. However, the *ḥeddǧe* or *ḫawiyya* is not mentioned from Kuweit by Dickson, who describes from this region a peculiar saddle of somewhat related type used mainly for riding and having Oman as its homeland. The saddle is named *al fulawi*; it consists of a pair of miniature saddle arches fixed in front of the animal's hump by means of a girth, and a cylindrical straw-stuffed mattress which is placed over the back behind the hump and fastened to the little saddle-frame with cords (Dickson 1949, p. 87). The same type of riding saddle is depicted by Thesiger from Oman and adjacent parts of South Arabia (Thesiger 1959, Fig. 12 p. 33), and Mr. Klaus Ferdinand has informed me that he has seen only this type of riding saddle around Qatar. It would seem natural to derive the *al fulani* riding saddle from a pack saddle of *ḫawiyya* or *ḥeddǧe* type the more so because riding saddles for camels and horses seem frequently to have developed from saddles used for transportation. Dostal's theory that the riding saddle of *al fulani* type is very ancient and constitutes the proto-type of other Arabian saddles is very queer (cf. Dostal 1958, p. 2 ff.). In North-west Africa there is a peculiar type of pack-saddle which resembles the *ḫawiyya* or *ḥeddǧe* saddles. It consists of two curved pieces of wood united by broad side-boards and by two small sticks inserted into holes at the upper part of the curved arches. This saddle-frame is placed before the camel's hump and is fixed to two pieces of plaited mattresses. Saddles of this kind are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris from the borderland of Algeria and Morocco (no. 38.180.80), from the Regeibat of Northern Mauritania (no. 38.133.6), and from the *Ida w Aich* Moors around Tidjika of Southern Mauretania (no. 38.136.58) (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 92).

Saddles of the *ḫawiyya* or *ḥeddǧe* type (*élaki* to the Northern Tuareg) seem to be unknown to the Southern Tuareg. The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is that called *arraki*, consisting of one curved piece attached to two flat side-boards by means of which the whole structure is attached to two pads or mat cylinders fitted each side of the camel (cf. p. 76). This very simple wooden structure is found not only in Ayr but also among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 47 f, p. 178). Nicolas also depicts two other simple wooden structures for pack-saddles. One of them consists of two pieces of wood lashed together at the upper and narrow ends, the broader lower ends being attached to pads or mats; the other one is of similar type but is made from one single piece of wood – probably from a heavy forked stick (Nicolas 1950a, Figs. 47 g & h, p. 178). A saddle consisting of an angular piece of wood like that just mentioned, but attached to two flat sideboards, is in the Musée d'Ethnographie of Neuchâtel (no. 48.2.63); it is manufactured in the Sudan within the Tuareg area.

The *élaki* saddle of the Northern Tuareg is probably an Arab culture trait. It occurs among the

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Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedǧe*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137).

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*azaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555).

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b). These bags are known as *tiṛṛar* (sing. *téṛerirt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tiḥḍaḍ* (sing. *téḥeḍiṭ*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 320 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711).

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula.

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce.

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these

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233 traits are found among the Northern Tuareg and partly among the *Iwillemmeden*, while they have
● 177 not generally been adopted by the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. It is most interesting in this connection that when they wish to speed up their riding camels the Northern Tuareg use a sound identical with that used among the Arabs, while the Tuareg of Ayr use a very different signal (p. 136).

The Arabs only partially influenced Tuareg camel-breeding, for this was well-established in North
233 Africa before the Arab invasions. There is no doubt that certain traits of camel-breeding are known
171 to most pastoralists who breed the one-humped camel. Such traits may well have been introduced to North Africa with the Arabs, but they were most probably also known to North Africa camel-breeders before the Arabs arrived. Among such traits universally known to camel-breeders, the following can be mentioned:—

Milking with the dummy-calf. This seems to be practised among all Arab pastoralists of the Peninsula; it is frequently described, in modern literature about this area, and is mentioned as well in ancient Arabic poetry (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 355). The custom is known to Arabs of the Sahara and, according to Monteil, also to the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 72). I have mentioned above that the dummy-calf is used for milking camels among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and according to Nicolas the custom is also practised among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 140).

Perhaps a milking method universally known is that of patting the udder. I have recorded this method from Ahaggar, from Ayr (p. 57), and from Arab pastoralists of the Sahara (e.g. the *Ulad Ba Hammu* and the *Chamba*). I have not been able to find much information about this method in literature, but it is possibly this to which Thesiger refers in his description of camel milking in Southern Arabia (cf. Thesiger 1959, p. 145).

A method of which there is also very little information is that of weaning calves by cutting them on the bridge of the nose in two or three places. I have noted it from the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Ajjer*, and the *Kel Ayr* and from pastoralists of Arab tribes such as the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, but have not seen it among Arabs in the borderlands of the Atlas and the Sahara. I have also noted the existence of this particular method among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwillemmeden*, but it is not mentioned by Nicolas from the *Iwillemmeden Kel Denek*, though he states that it is known among the *Kunta* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). In certain parts of North Africa a cut on the bridge of the nose of camel calves is given one or two thorns. These sting the mother camel when the calf tries to suck and the mother camel therefore kicks the calf away. The method is described from In Salah by Cauvet, while Nicolas mentions it from certain Arabs and *Iforas* Tuareg (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359; Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). A related method is known to pastoralists of Arabia where a little pointed stick is tied to the head of the calf to prevent it from sucking (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359).

261 A very interesting custom, perhaps also a very ancient one, is that of using the blood of living camels
171 for food. Among the Tuareg, blood of living camels is drunk only when water is lacking during camel expeditions in the desert (cf. p. 235). The bleeding of camels to utilize their blood is also practiced among the Tebu (Huard & Charpin 1960, p. 195), and among the bedouins of Arabia it seems as though camel's blood is consumed regularly for food. Doughty describes how Arab bedouins boil camel's meat in broth and blood, as they are unaware that the Koran forbids the use of blood for food (Doughty ed. 1926, I, p. 561). A good description of the use of blood of living camels as food among

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492 171 an ancient North African custom. It is the method generally applied by the Tuareg and those Northern Arabs who use saddles of the *térik* or *tahyast* types; it is also practiced among the Moors of Mauretania (cf. Monteil 1952, Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129), and is known to the Tebu (Cline 1950, p. 34). It would appear that the use of nostril rings for riding camels has much the same distribution in North Africa as have saddles of *térik* or *tahyast* types including the Moorish saddle, which is also placed in front of the animal's hump.

The Tuareg halter made of iron or metal shackles and used in connection with the nostril ring so that the camel is controlled by means of a double rein (*akeskabbu*; cf. p. 73, Fig. 50–52), is perhaps a combination of two originally different systems, for the Tebu use this peculiar halter without any attachment to a nostril ring, the camel being controlled by a single rein combined with the halter (cf. Le Coeur 1950, p. 133, pl. XXIX Figs. 111–112 & Cline 1950, p. 34).

136 174 114 Much has been written on the history of the camel in North Africa, and I do not want to take up this question in great detail as I can add very little to what is already known. René Basset's theory that the camel was first introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1907) is contrary to all historical information, for we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived. Contemporary with Basset it was pointed out by Flammand, that skeletal remains of camels from North Africa proved the exsistence of these animals as early as "les temps quaternaire moyens" (Flammand 1907). But while Flammand states that the camel disappeared with a more humid climate, Cauvet later tried to substantiate the theory that the camel did not disappear, but continued to exist further south in Africa. Thus, he claims, the southern camel-breed descends from the ancient camel found in Africa even during the mio-pliocene of the tertiary period, while the northern breed was introduced by the Arabs (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 15 ff.). I can agree with Cauvet's latter statement regarding a connection between northern camels and the Arabs, but his theory of the existence of the one-humped camel in Africa since tertiary time is most difficult to accept. The camel breed which existed in Africa prior to the Arab invasions was no doubt comparatively recently introduced from Asia. Barth pointed out that the camel came to North-western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3 ff.). This theory has later been supported by many scholars, notably by Gautier (Gautier 1928,. p. 99 f., ed. 1946, p. 129 ff.; 1942, p. 190 ff.). Quite recently the various problems connected with the history of the camel in North Africa have been re-examined by Walz. He largely accepts Barth's theory of its introduction in antiquity, but also points out that the camel, which seems to appear in Egypt about 500 B.C. or somewhat earlier, may have been introduced to southern parts of Africa via the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits at an earlier date (Walz 1951, p. 29–51; 1954, p. 45–87).

Gautier states that the Romans had a certain responsibility for the introduction of the camel into North-Africa, though he also claims that it was introduced by the Berber-speaking *Zenata* tribes 174 (Gautier 1942, p. 209 f., 227). It is to be doubted that the Romans introduced the camel into North- 177 Africa, and on the whole it seems as if the Romans have influenced Tuareg culture very slightly. It is difficult to point to any definite traits of material culture taken over from the Romans, though Foucauld states that certain lamps of Roman form are found in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1399). A fair number of Latin words can be proved to exist in Tuareg dialects. This fact is

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frequently referred to in books, and some authors have taken certain linguistic Roman traits as a proof that the Tuareg have once been Christians. But as stated by Lhote, the Latin words adopted in the Tuareg language cannot by themselves prove an ancient Tuareg Christianity, though they do indicate that the ancient Tuareg have had direct or indirect contact with Christians (Lhote 1955a, p. 346). We know that Christianity had a fixed position among many Berbers of North-Africa (cf. Ibn Khaldun I, p. 177, 207, 209 & Leo Africanus I, p. 163), and there seem to have lived Christian Berbers more than a hundred years after the introduction of Islam into Morocco, where certain Berbers near Fez still remember Sunday as a day of rest (cf. Westermarck 1926, I, p. 13 f.). As to the Tuareg we do not know whether some of them have been Christians, but Ibn Khaldun states that the great western division of *Sanhaja* Tuareg never adopted Christianity (Ibn Khaldun I, p. 212).

The Phoenicians occupied a limited area of the North African coast where they remained from about 1200 B.C. until the end of the third Punic War in the year 146 B.C. Over this long period they apparently did much to change North African Berber cultures. They introduced the use of iron and bronze, new cultivation methods of wine and olive, and did much to open up North Africa to Mediterranean influences, which also penetrated into the country of the Berber chiefs (cf. Gsell 1920–28, IV, p. 18 ff., 74 ff.; Despois 1949, p. 177 ff.; Mauny 1952, p. 577). However, it does not seem that true Phoenician elements can be proved to exist among the Tuareg. Further back in time true historical knowledge stops, but Aegean influences seem to have been in Tunis before the Phoenicians (Gsell 1920–28, I, p. 347; Despois 1949, p. 117).

TUAREG CULTURE AND AFRICAN CULTURE COMPLEXES

So-called historical anthropology was from its very beginning closely connected with studies of African cultures. It was inaugurated by Friedrich Ratzel as a reaction against Adolf Bastian's evolutionary theories. Ratzel pointed out that certain weapons were found in identical form in Africa, Asia, and Oceania and he claimed that this could be explained only from the assumption that a historical relationship existed between them. Already in his study of the African bow Ratzel gave as his opinion that "Fast ganz Afrika erscheint uns zuletzt als ein einziges grosses Gebiet mehr oder weniger abgeschwächter asiatischer Anklänge" (Ratzel 1891, p. 333).

Ratzel had many followers who took up distributional studies of cultural traits in Africa and adjacent regions. Important investigations were made by such scholars as Schurtz and Weule, and by Leo Frobenius, who established a particular West African culture complex, which he claimed was historically related to similar compilations of culture traits in Indonesia and Melanesia (Frobenius 1898a). It is remarkable that Frobenius very soon abandoned this method of historical reconstruction though he invented it himself. However, the concept of world-embracing culture complexes disappeared, only to emerge again in a modified form a few years later (1904), when the two German scholars F. Graebner and B. Ankermann compared their studies in Oceania and Africa to establish for these areas culture complexes which they claimed to be historically related (Graebner & Ankermann 1905). The principal supporter of this theory was Graebner, who deepened his methodological

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Fig. 239. Songay dwelling resembling a cylindrical house with conical roof. Structurally it is a beehive hut consisting of 30 semiarches each made from a bundle of lashed rods and connected at their tops. The structure is supported by a heavy central post (*bongoro*) buried in the ground. The upper part of the structure carries the thatched roof while the lower part is uncovered but surrounded by a cylindrical mud wall on the inside. The hut has a diameter of 5–6 metres and a little barrel-vaulted hut (*zongotongo*) covered with mats is erected within it. To the right is a simple sunshade serving as the workshop of three weaving men. The photograph was taken at the IFAN-Museum, Niamey.

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the Chamba (Briggs 1958, p. 120), and beehive huts are also mentioned from Tunesia (Bernard 1924, pl. II) and from Tripolis, where they may have been introduced by Sudanese Negroes (cf. Todd 1912, ill. p. 90, 102). As far as I know beehive huts do not occur in the Algerian Atlas, but I have seen a kind of beehive structure erected in a market place of a Kabyle village. It seems as if beehive huts are found in Morocco (Meakin 1902, p. 48 f.; Coon 1931, pl. 22 p. 72) and they may perhaps be more widely found in the Atlas, as a great variety of huts mentioned in literature on North Africa is known by the term *gurbi*.

Beehive huts of various types exist within very different economic cultures of Northern Africa. Their distribution does not correspond with that of any African cultural complex. There may seem to be some agreement between the distribution of beehive huts and the distribution of certain traits of the Eurafrican Steppe-Hunting Culture. However, these distributions are not identical, and distributions of culture elements should be studied very carefully. Migrations and trading expeditions have greatly influenced the distributions of traits in Northern Africa.

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*342 178 582 while to my knowledge they have never married women of the *Iwillemmeden*. Marriages seem to be of great importance for the diffusion of cultural traits among the Tuareg.

*342 174 182 It is clear that the use of T-shaped posts is not limited to particular environmental zones, for T-shaped posts are characteristic of certain Tuareg skin tents both in the true desert country and in southern regions of plains and savannahs. Furthermore, it seems as if this structure is found mainly among the Northern Tuareg, the *Kel Adrar*, and among the *Kel Denneк*, while outside these regions T-shaped posts are rare. Thus if we cannot explain the use and the distribution of T-shaped posts in skin tents from an analysis of environment, we may perhaps ascribe its present distribution to historical events.

*342 174 The most important characteristic of T-shaped posts is that they are not buried in the ground like all other poles and posts of Tuareg portable dwellings. They rest upon the surface, and if they sometimes penetrate two or three centimetres into the soil this is not to keep them upright but to prevent them from sliding. The fact that Tuareg T-shaped posts are not buried in the ground makes it unlikely that they are related to the T-shaped posts of permanent dwellings like those used in huts and houses of North Africa, and I believe that originally they came from a barrel-vaulted dwelling which had one of its arches supported by a post resting upon the surface. That an evolution of this kind is in fact possible is shown by Ferdinand's description of certain black tents among the Duranni nomads of Afghanistan. The middle arch of these tents is made from pieces of curved poles, namely two long pieces lashed to a shorter top piece, which is supported by a central post resting upon the surface of the ground. This is the normal structure of Duranni tents, but in summer and in spring nomads frequently content themselves with the erection of the middle part of the arch supported by the central post resting upon the surface. In other words, the Duranni nomads at certain seasons change their barrel-vaulted dwelling into a dwelling supported by T-shaped posts at a right angle to the longitudinal direction (cf. Ferdinand 1959, Fig. 7 p. 35). I think that this development is also perhaps responsible for the evolution of T-shaped tents among the Tuareg, but I do not believe that it took place among them. We have among the Tuareg no portable barrel-vaulted dwellings of arches supported by central posts. We find this principle in certain barrel-vaulted dwellings used among the *Kel Ewey* farmers of Ayr (cf. p. 347 ff.), but this barrel-vaulted hut originated from the Tuareg mat tent, which among the sedentary *Kel Ewey* adopted certain traits of the bee-hive hut.

*342 174 177 I think there is little doubt that a relationship exists between T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents and similar posts of North African black tents. This relationship was first suggested by Feilberg in his thesis on the black tent (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143), and I believe that it can be proved that such a relationship actually exists.

[184] Black tents are not generally used by the Tuareg. In the extreme north of the *Kel Air* territory a few Tuareg have adopted it owing to contact with Arab pastoralists. It is possible that there are also Tuareg with black tents in the extreme south-west of Tuareg country around Timbuktu. There are black tents in this region (Jackson 1820, p. 23; Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 474 ff.), and it seems as if some Tuareg there occasionally live in them (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). It is clear that the black tent is found within a large semi-circular belt enclosing Tuareg country from the Fezzan via Northern Sahara and the Atlas through Mauretania to Timbuktu (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). It is also clear that there

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have been for centuries much contact between the Tuareg and the regions dominated by the black tent and Arab pastoralists.

Certain Arabs who have immigrated from the north to Tuareg country have adapted their original tent structure of black tents to the Tuareg sheet of skin. This is demonstrated in case of Arab pastoralist known as *Deremchaka* (Dermechaka = Ar. El-Mechākra) who live in the *Kel Denmek* country. These pastoral Arabs, who have been much influenced by their Tuareg neighbours, use two central oblique posts to support a very short cross-bar (*hómmdr* in Arabic), placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and it seems as if they have no other wooden elements to support the sheet and no cord attachment to secure the posts in contrast to the *Kel Denmek*. The *Deremchaka* Arabs immigrated to *Kel Denmek* country from Southern Algeria at a date later than the 17th century (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153 f., pl. VIIIc; p. 67 f.). They have probably taken this tent structure with them from Algeria, where it is common to use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar at a right angle to the longitudinal direction.

It would seem that we have another example of the introduction of structural elements of black tents into skin tents, namely the above-mentioned skin tent supported by two central oblique posts with a short cross-bar which is used among certain *Kel Inteser*. This structure resembles that of certain double-posted black tents used among Arab pastoralists in many parts of North Africa, and the *Kel Inteser* Tuareg seem to be Arabs by origin. This is stated by several authors (Delafosse 1912 I, p. 195; Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210 ff.; Richer 1924, p. 14; Marty 1920–21, I, p. 254 ff.), and a Tuareg of the *Kel Inteser* group whom I met in Ayr held the same view. There seem to be little doubt that the structure of *Kel Inteser* skin tents derives from black tents and from the Arabs who most probably were responsible for the introduction of black tents to Mauretania and the whole Western Sahara.

The use of black tents among the Western Moors seems to throw important light upon tent development in North Africa. These tents are mentioned in early literature. Labat says that the Moors of Arguin and the Niger have round and conical tents, and that the former are covered with material of goats and camels (Labat 1728, I, p. 262), while Saugnier and Park mention the occurrence of two central posts in Moorish tents (Saugnier 1799, p. 33; Park ed. 1923, p. 109). A more comprehensive description of such tents is given by Caillié who says that the *Brakna* use two central posts carrying a short cross-bar to support their black tents, which in winter has an interior tent consisting of a sheet of skin supported by poles (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and the use of two central posts crossing each other and carrying a short cross-bar on their tops is also mentioned recently from Mauretania (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 18, Fig. 7 no. 25). Douls depicts a black tent of pyramidal form from Rio del Oro (Douls 1888, p. 22 f.) and it would seem that this tent corresponds structurally to the type now in general use among the Moors of Mauretania and described or depicted by several authors (cf. Ould Hamidon 1952, ill. p. 41; Dubié 1953, p. 134, 162; Gabus 1955, ill. p. 72; Meniaud 1912, II, pl. X, p. 48). The particular structure of black tents among the Western Moors is due to the fact that it contains a barrel-vaulted dwelling covered with canvas. This barrel-vaulted dwelling constitutes the only type of dwelling of the Moors in the dry season, but during the rains and when it is extremely hot it is covered by the black tent (cf. Urvoy 1942, p. 33 f., Fig. 2, pl. I, Figs. 3,4). Thus the partic-

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Thus the partic-

*342 171 174 ular structure of black tents among certain Moors is due to a combination of two dwelling types: the black tent which has apparently been introduced by the Arabs coming down along the Western Sahara from the north, and a barrel-vaulted portable dwelling which we may perhaps conceive as the type of dwelling used in ancient times by the Tuareg of these regions who were conquered by the Arabs.

*342 171 177 If we turn to Tuareg skin tents supported by one central post with a short cross-bar, we may well assume that this particular structure, the so-called T-shaped post, has not only been introduced owing to influence from the black tent, but that it is also largely the result of contact with the Arabs. We know from Duveyrier that the Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* have skin tents and in some cases black tents also, and that these dwellings are identical in structure (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403 ff.). It is also certain that the Arabs who live in the region of Tidikelt use T-shaped posts both for black tents and for skin tents. This is recorded (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 224). I have myself gathered the same information from the *Ulad Ba Hammu* Arabs among whom I saw a black tent supported by a T-shaped post. Again, if we turn to the *Kunta* Arabs who live north of the Niger Bend, we find that they use for their tents skin sheets which they obtain from the Tuareg (cf. Geneviève 1950, p. 1125), and from one of my friends, a *Kunta* Arab living at Agadez, I obtained the information that the *Kunta* use a T-shaped post for their tents which are made of skin or canvas, though in very large tents they use two T-shaped posts.

*342 171 It is very interesting that an investigation of the distribution of T-shaped posts further north in Africa seems to indicate that this particular structure in black tents is found among the Arabs, but not among the Berbers. I have been told by the *Chamba* Arabs of Metlili that they use T-shaped posts in their black tents. Further north I have seen tents with a T-shaped post among Arabs who live in the central part of the Sahara Atlas. I may say that Lieutenant Millot, who has an intimate knowledge of the large pastoral Arab tribes *Rebaya* and *Ferjân* living around El Oued and the great sandy desert of Erg Oriental, told me personally that these Arabs use single T-shaped posts in their tents. We can add to this Feilberg's detailed investigation of black tent structures with a T-shaped post from Eastern Algeria, Tunisia, and from the *Ulad Ali* nomads (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 146). It is interesting to note that Feilberg has also found T-shaped posts in black tents among Arab pastoralists of Syria and Central Arabia (Feilberg 1944, p. 146).

*342 171 174 I am not going as far as to claim that the black tent was introduced to North Africa by the Arabs, though this may well be so (cf. Nicolaisen 1959, p. 119 ff.), but I think that the present extensive distribution of black tents in the Sahara must be due to them. This seems quite evident when we consider Feilberg's map of the distribution of black tents in Northern Africa, which also shows that the distribution of black tents is not limited to environment of a definite type (cf. Feilberg 1944, map II). Laoust long ago pointed out that black tent vocabulary in Morocco is derived largely from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168 f.). This has later been emphasized even more by Delpy who thinks that all the present black tents of North Africa, including Mauretania, have been introduced by the Arabs. However that may be there is no doubt that Leo Africanus does not refer much to the use of black tents which have acquired their present wide distribution in Northern Africa later than the 16th century A.D. (cf. Delpy 1955, p. 15 f.).

*342 174 177 I conclude my analysis of Tuareg T-shaped structures by saying that this structure is foreign to

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traditional Tuareg dwellings having been introduced by contact with the Arabs who use black tents. I believe this to be the most reasonable explanation, and I think that at all events there is one important factor which points to a connection between T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin-tents and similar posts in Arab black tents:— Where T-shaped posts are known to be a traditional type of dwelling, as is the case among the Northern Tuareg and the *Kel Dennek*, skin tents are always placed with the broad entrance side towards the south, which is also the tent orientation of the adjacent Northern Arabs with black tents. Where barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats form the predominant type of portable dwelling the orientation is different. This, anyway, is the case with the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* who live almost exclusively in barrel-vaulted mat tents which have the broad entrance side turned westwards. This difference in orientation can hardly be accidental. It rather points to a historical connection between the Tuareg groups who possess T-shaped structures and the Northern Arabs who own black tents. It may also be added that both among the Northern Arabs and the Northern Tuareg it is customary to divide the tent into two parts the left (western) one being reserved for the woman, the right (eastern) part for her husband.

Finally, the theory I have advanced about the origin of Tuareg T-shaped posts in skin tents seems to be substantiated by the distributions of other cultural traits mentioned in the previous chapter, for certain traits which seem to have been introduced by the Arabs, e.g., Arab riding saddles for women, seem to occur mainly where T-shaped posts are prevalent.

[text continues on p. 393]

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and the manufacture of decorated leather-bags, camel-reins, etc., and decorated wooden milk-bowls, the noble women do extremely little work.

Among the *Kel Ajjer* we find some of the above-mentioned distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals. The traditional dwelling of many vassal Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer is the cylindrical hut (house) with a conical roof, though vassals in winter use skin-tents during nomadic migrations. Nowadays noble and vassal Tuareg alike live in straw-huts throughout the hot season. Barth, in his description of the *Kel Ajjer*, mentions that the vassals have no right to possess iron spears and swords (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257), but it is stated explicitly by Duveyrier that noble Tuareg and vassals have the same weapons – the shield included (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). There can be little doubt that Duveyrier's statement is true, and I have been told among all Tuareg that in the past noble and vassal Tuareg did not differ in regard to weapons. A distinction would also seem rather strange in view of the fact that Tuareg of both classes fought together. Barth says that noble Tuareg and vassals differ in dress, but he does not give details (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257).

As to the Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, both noble and vassal Tuareg say that in the past there were hardly any cultural distinctions between them. Bride-wealth in both classes was paid in camels. We know that the Ayr vassals in the past were predominantly goat-breeders, like many Ayr vassals to-day, and it seems as if camel-breeding was once a privilege of the nobility in the *Kel Ferwan* group (cf. p. 431; cf. tradition on the origin of the noble *Kel Ferwan*, p. 421). I have not been able to find differences between the two classes in regard to material culture and social organization. The noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group say that they never have had types of portable dwellings other than the barrel-vaulted mat tent, which traditionally belongs to the woman.

There is very little information about cultural distinctions between noble and vassal Tuareg in other groups. Among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* the vassals apparently use the arched mat tent more frequently than do noble Tuareg, but this and the skin tent supported by vertical sticks carrying cross-bars are found in both classes (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372 f.; Gabus 1945, p. 361 & 1948a, p. 15 & 1948b, p. 16). Among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* the mat tent is used by certain noble Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. 156 f.). According to the chief *Amder* women's riding saddles for camels (*akhawi*) among the *Kel Ataram* are found only in noble tribes. Vassal tribes of the *Kel Ataram* living close to the Niger even to-day practise matrilineal rules of inheritance and succession in contrast to noble tribes with rules of patrilineal succession and Koranic inheritance (cf. p. 457).

Cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals are particularly prevalent in the two groups of Northern Tuareg, and it is significant that the traits characteristic of the noble class are also common among the *Iregenaten* who live in Tamesna. This tribe is said to descend from mixed marriages between Tuareg women of the *Ibettenaten* tribe, which claims noble descent, and Arab men. This explanation is found in literature (cf. Lhote 1955, p. 238 f.; Briggs 1958, p. 100) and has been confirmed to me by Tuareg of this tribe. It is interesting that some traits characteristic of the noble tribes among the Northern Tuareg are also found in tribes of the *Iseḳkemaren* class. The tribes of this latter class are said to be related to Arabs among whom we also find some of these traits.

We do not know when the noble Tuareg in the northern groups adopted traits that are also found among Arab bedouins. One might perhaps venture the theory that some of them were introduced

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177 with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

64 177 It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Ineslemen*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the [682] rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

634 534 171 The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group, are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

634 634 The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *ettebel*. In all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

534 171 In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *ḳadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but

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B 601 the father's or the mother's family. Should a man's father have married into his own patrilineage the mother's patrilineal family, however, is generally referred to by the terms given to paternal relatives.

B 602 Kinship behaviour is characterized by a respect-relationship towards older generations. There is also a kind of avoidance between certain in-laws known as *nsib* (male) or *nsiba* (female). The avoided relatives in-law are the following:— father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, younger brother's wife, younger sister's husband, older brother of spouse, older sister of spouse. Other in-laws known as *ḥamm* (male) or *ḥamma* (female) are not avoided; these are:— older sister's husband, younger brother of spouse, older brother's wife, younger sister of a spouse (cf. Miner 1953, p. 146). When B 582 the levirate is practised a wife can marry a younger brother of her deceased husband, but not his elder brother, just as in the case of the sororate a man can marry a younger sister of his deceased wife but not her elder sister. Thus marriage between persons of the same generation is not permitted should there already be an established avoidance relationship between them. People involved in an avoidance relationship cannot marry.

B 582 584 An interesting and much discussed trait of Arab social organization is preferential marriage with a father's brother's daughter. Most Arabs I have questioned claimed her to be the most suitable spouse, but they also said that for various reasons other types of marriage frequently took place. It might happen, for example, that marriage of this preferential type was not contracted because of conflict between the two families in question. But the factor which frequently leads to marriages of types other than that with a father's brother's daughter seems to be the following:— In an Arab family, the father has the decisive, final word in choosing spouses for his children. The children when contracting a first marriage are forced to marry the persons chosen by their father. Even so, however, the choice is frequently the result of the mother's initiative for she knows the young girls far better than does her husband. She is able to visit them, can talk freely to them, and she knows their characters and their abilities. A husband will therefore often give way to his wife's wishes even if she chooses a maternal cousin or some girl other than the father's brother's daughter.

B 582 I have already mentioned certain relatives with whom marriage is forbidden when the levirate and the sororate are practised. There are many other kinswomen whom a man is not allowed to marry, namely:— all kinswomen of the parents' and the grandparents' generations, brother's daughter, brother's daughter's daughter, brother's son's daughter, sister, sister's daughter, sister's daughter's daughter, sister's son's daughter.

A T ● 177 The Arabs I know best are those who live in Tuareg country, and some of them have been much influenced by Tuareg social customs. Many of these Arabs are bi-lingual, speaking of their kinsmen both in Arabic and in Tuareg. Sometimes they seem to be in doubt whether it is better to marry a father's brother's daughter than a cross-cousin. The *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, who lead a pastoral life in Ahaggar and are much mixed with the Tuareg, pay bride-wealth like the vassal Tuareg tribes, but this is not so with *Ahl Azzi* Arabs who are sedentary and live at Tamanṛaset. These sedentary Arabs never give camels for bride-wealth, but instead certain articles of dress and ornaments, the price of which is about 25,000 French francs, equivalent in value to a camel. A less comprehensive dowry is given by the bride's father. The food expenses connected with a marriage are paid in part by the groom or his father, and in part by the bride's father. The sedentary agriculturists, the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*),

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602 However, the Tuareg say, a man can complain in very extreme cases when sons or sister's sons constantly take animals from him. I have met several Tuareg who have lost many animals taken by sons and sister's sons. One Tuareg had lost seven camels, taken by his oldest son, who had sold them. The Tuareg was very annoyed about this but he had not complained about it directly to his son. The old drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* group was constantly complaining to me about his sisters' sons, who took his animals so that he could not leave so large a fortune to his son. He openly called his sisters' sons "thieves", but as far as I know he did not complain about it to them. I was also told in Ayr that the fact that a man could take animals from herds and flocks of his true mother's brothers would not normally lead to conflict between them. Some Ayr Tuareg said that they were as fond of their sisters' sons as they were of their own children. It can be added that if a man has taken many animals from a mother's brother the latter's son may perhaps be able to retaliate as he has the right to take belongings from this man, who is his cross-cousins.

(6) As the last characteristic of Tuareg kinship behaviour it may be mentioned that, among certain Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group, it is normal for a man to inherit the kinship status of his parents on their death, in the way that he adopts their joking relationships with their classificatory cross-cousins, but he will never inherit a joking relationship with the true cross-cousins of his deceased father and mother.

The above-mentioned rules of kinship behaviour seem traditional to Tuareg social organization and very different from those considered valid among the Arabs. The social systems of Tuareg and Arabs are on the whole most disssimilar, but nevertheless the Arabs and the Tuareg of to-day have exactly the same rules of inheritance which follow Koranic law. It is evident that these rules have been introduced among the Tuareg owing to contact with the Arabs who brought Islam to North Africa. It is very difficult to determine when the Tuareg adopted Islamic inheritance rules, and also to learn about their pre-Islamic inheritance system.

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634 643 In regard to Tuareg rules of succession there can be no doubt that the matrilineal principle was originally recognized in all groups, but the patrilineal principle has been introduced into certain groups owing to Arab influence. The Tuareg who have adopted patrilineal succession are notably the two groups of *Iwllemmeden*, the *Kel Adrar*, and Tuareg of the *Ineslemen* class in various groups (cf. Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.; 1950a, p. 213). In fact we know that the *Iwllemmeden* adopted patrilineal succession as early as in the 17th century (cf. Richer 1924, p. 3, 52; Nicolas 1950a, p. 54 f.), and patrilineal succession is undoubtedly also of great age among the *Kel Adrar*, where the dominant tribes belong to the *Ineslemen* class. As to the two important groups of Southern Tuareg, the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*, Nicolas states that succession among them is matrilineal, as it is in Ahaggar (Nicolas 1950c, p. 492 f.), and matrilineal succession is also mentioned as traditional to the Ayr Tuareg by Rodd (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 151 f., 463 ff.). I have not been able to confirm these statements during my investigations among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. All people questioned in these two groups claimed that the proper successor to chieftainship would be the deceased chief's son, though it was admitted among the Ayr Tuareg that a sister's son might be elected chief if considered better fitted for this position than a son. It would be correct to state that both the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* to-day acknowledge the patrilineal principle of succession, but it is not quite certain when they

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585 602 laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with [184] cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

105 Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matri- [587] lineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

[601] In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

105 177 Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a predominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

105 177 178 184 It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French

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administrators settled in Ahaggar, the noble Tuareg under the leadership of the *Amenukal* are said to have claimed that the French should respect their ancient matrilineal organization. It seems as though such an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals was unknown in Ayr in pre-European times. Subsistence in Ayr is easier than in Ahaggar, and the noble Tuareg there were not so dependent upon their vassals for food as was the case in Ahaggar.

The fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg have conserved matrilineal rules in their social organization though influenced by Islam and the patrilineal Arabs for centuries, may perhaps explain why they have come to consider marriage with a mother's sister's daughter (or her daughter) as a better type of mating than cross-cousin marriage. Marriages with a classificatory sister (or sister's daughter) are, according to the Ahaggar Tuareg, not to be considered a recent phenomena, but have been practised for generations. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that these marriages are most suitable because they do not give rise to changes of residence for the children. It is very probable that such marriages, which do not harmonize with traditional kinship rules, indicate the transition towards fully-fledged patrilineal rules among the Northern Tuareg.

We have no knowledge about Tuareg social organization in pre-Islamic times, but there can be little doubt that matrilineal traits are very ancient, for they are mentioned by Ibn Batutah (cf. p. 457), and most Tuareg have traditions of their descent from an ancestress. Bates thinks that the Libyans of antiquity possessed a type of social organization which was partly or fully matrilineal, though he admits that indications of the existence of the matriarchate are strong, but not conclusive (Bates 1914, p. 111 f.). Gsell, on the contrary, thinks that the ancient Libyans did not have a social organization of a matrilineal type. They were patrilineal like most Northern Berbers of to-day (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 37 f.).

Baumann states that Tuareg matrilineal organization derives from the so-called Old Mediterranean Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 66). This is perhaps not the true explanation, for Frobenius is probably right in his statement that the Syrtic Culture was a high one which gained little influence among pastoralists, but became very important to sedentary people of North Africa and the Western Sudan (Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 11). On the other hand the theory advanced by Frobenius that the Tuareg matriarchate is an old Hamitic custom does not constitute a satisfactory explanation (cf. Frobenius 1933, p. 238 f.; Atlas Africanus, H. 1, Bl. 5).

The history of Tuareg matriarchate has been analysed very recently by Murdock, who states that its origin can be explained in three distinct ways:— (1) The Tuareg may have preserved the matrilineate from a very early period of Berber culture, perhaps also reflected among the extinct Guanche of the Canary Islands. This, however, is not considered very probable, because matrilineal traits do not exist among the many other North African Berber tribes, and also because the present relative isolation of the Tuareg is historically recent, dating from the Hilalian Arab invasion. (2) The indigenous *Bélla* were characterized by avunculocal residence and matrilineal descent, and they transmitted these rules to the conquering Tuareg. This second theoretical possibility is discarded by Murdock on the ground that the *Bélla* were presumably akin to the Hausa peoples on the southern border of the Tuareg country, and the Hausa are strictly patrilineal. (3) The ancestral Tuareg, while still resident in Tripolitania, were patrilineal, like all other mainland Berbers, and the matrilineate was developed as an

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Conclusion

The description of Tuareg culture presented in this study shows very clearly that cultural evolution should be viewed mainly in the light of history. It seems possible to follow in broad outline cultural development among the Tuareg through the last two thousand years. The main forces of cultural change and development were the following:—

(1) European occupation. The major change was the abolition of warfare and raiding, and consequently the breakdown of traditional political systems.

(2) Immigration of Arabs. It is possible that the ancestors of the Tuareg were influenced by the Arabs who came to North Africa during the first invasion of the 7th century A.D., but the second so-called Hilalian invasion of the 11th century was more important. It seems as if most Tuareg were converted to Islam in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. The Northern Tuareg have taken over many new cultural traits from the Arabs who enjoy a high religious prestige. Apart from Islam, the Arabs brought into Tuareg country new breeds of domestic animals, new saddle types and the like, new dwelling types, new methods of food praparation, and new articles of dress. It is clear that the Arabs also influenced Tuareg social organization with the introduction of Ḳoranic inheritance, and their rule of patrilineal succession is adopted among most Southern Tuareg. The Arabs have also played a part in changing Tuareg political systems. New social classes were created with the introduction of Islam, and the words *khalifa* and *ettebel* (*ettebel*) seem to indicate Arab influence in political structure. It is very possible that the instalment ceremony of chiefs, who are presented with a large headcloth, is an Arab custom. Furthermore, the rules of blood-wealth payment in the two groups of Northern Tuareg are of Arab-Islamic origin. – Arab cultural traits have been introduced over an extremely long period of years, and certain traits were apparently first adopted by the Tuareg when their country had been opened up after the European occupation.

(3) The invasion of pastoral camel-breeding Berbers which started at an unknown date in the first centuries of the Christian era. These camel-breeders conquered another Berber-speaking population who lived mainly by goat-breeding. As a result of this conquest arose Tuareg class-division into noble Tuareg and vassals, which in most groups forms the basis of the political system. The first noble camel-breeders came from the east or the north-east, and they may perhaps have introduced certain traits of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture, while their techniques of camel-breeding were related to those of the so-called East Hamitic Culture. Noble Tuareg subsisting on camel-breeding have also immigrated to the Sahara in Islamic times owing to the pressure of Arab bedouins from the north. The noble tribes now dominating the two northern groups perhaps descend from *Hawwara* Berbers

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Tuareg Time Reckoning

Tuareg time reckoning is mainly based upon the position of the celestial bodies in relation to the earth. Some Tuareg know the twelve months of the Julian Calendar, but most of them are only aware of a few of these names, some of which have acquired the meaning of definite agricultural activities (cf. Fig. 139). When the Tuareg divide the year into twelve months they normally use the system of the Islamic lunar calendar. The names of the twelve lunar months in the northern dialect are the following:— *azum* (Ar. *ramḍan*), *tésesé* (Ar. *feṭer*), *ǧir muhden* (Ar. *du elḳada*), *tafaské* (Ar. *du elḥajja*), *tamesseḍek* (Ar. *ɑchura*), *tallit seṭṭefet* (Ar. *ṣefer*), *tallit ereṛet* (Ar. *rebiɑ awl*), *awhim wa yezzaren* (Ar. *rebiɑ tani*), *awhim wa ilkemen* (Ar. *jumad awl*), *sarat* (Ar. *jumad tani*), *ti n tneslemin* (Ar. *rejeb*), *émezzihel* (Ar. *chɑban*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 982 ff.). These names, known to all Tuareg, would appear to indicate that the lunar calendar among the Tuareg was introduced before Islam. The division of the week into seven days was apparently introduced with Islam for their names are clearly derived from Arabic. They seem to be known to all Tuareg, but play no important part in practical time reckoning. To indicate events that will take place within a few days the Tuareg will say to-morrow, the day after to-morrow, in three days, and so on.

The lunar calendar plays a certain rôle to the Tuareg as it fixes all important religious feasts, and among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is normal for the members of a camp to count the succession of lunar years which are named after the place where the camp was situated during the religious feast of *tafaské*. Accordingly there is no definite system of year reckoning common to all Ayr Tuareg, who do not know the Islamic numbers of the years A. H. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg will sometimes talk about *awétay wa-n-Kawchen*, that is "the year when the Ayr Tuareg revolted against the French under the leadership of Kawchen" (1917) and *awétay wa-n-étran*, that is "the year when shooting stars were extraordinarily abundant" (perhaps about 25 years ago).

To the Ahaggar Tuareg the word *awétay* is used in two different ways. It may be used for a lunar year, but it is most frequently used in the sense of "a period between two midwinters", so that the year among the Northern Tuareg is normally to be understood as "a solar year the exact beginning and end of which cannot be stated". Among the Ahaggar Tuareg each such year has its proper name given after the most important event within the year, e.g., the death or the election of an *Amenukal*, the occurrence of good pasture of a particular annual plant, the year of famine, etc. For years of pre-European times the occurrence of raids and warfare also serve as names of years. It may happen that two tribes do not use the same name for a year, but there is a remarkable tendency towards a uniform calendar system for all Ahaggar. The chronology of years is not known equally well by all

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